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THE PLACE-NAMES OF BERKSHIRE

BY THE

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PREFATORY REMARKS

In 1901 my essay on 'The Place-names of Cambridgeshire' was published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and a little later the same Society published my similar essay on 'The Place-names of Huntingdonshire'. In 1906 they published my 'Place-names of Bedfordshire'.

In 1904 the East Herts. Archaeological Society published for me a somewhat larger pamphlet on 'The Place-names of Hertfordshire'.

After thus completing some account of the place-names of these four counties, it occurred to me to investigate those of Berkshire. I was inclined to this by two considerations. The first, that it is not a very large county in itself; and secondly, that Birch's edition of Anglo-Saxon Charters contains a considerable number that refer to this county, so that the Anglo-Saxon spellings of a rather large proportion of the names are readily accessible.

It is necessary to repeat here some of the considerations which it is desirable for the student to know.

1. The place-names of Berkshire are nearly all of native English origin; and are formed in strict accordance with the rules of Anglo-Saxon grammar.

2. They are nearly all of one of two types. Either they are significant of *possession*, like Sparsholt; or they are descriptive of *position*, like Eastbury.

3. In the latter case, the place-name is formed by composition, like *cart-horse*. In the former case, possession is indicated by the use of the genitive case. The possessor's name is usually masculine, in which case the grammatical rules for the formation of the genitive are quite simple; viz. as follows.

4. If the nominative ends (in very early times) in *-i*, or (later) in *-e*, or in a consonant, the genitive ends in *-es*. Examples: nom. *Pefi*, later *Pefe*; gen. *Pefes*. This occurs in Pusey. *Æsc* (Ash); gen. *Æsces*. Hence Ashbury, short for Ash's bury. In the modern form, the genitive ending has been lost.

5. Nearly all other genitives end in *-a*, and take a genitive in *-an*. Thus the genitive of Uffa is Uffan; whence both Uffington and Ufton. In the former case, *n* has been turned into *ng*; in the latter, the suffix has disappeared.

6. If the possessor's name is feminine, the nominative ends in a consonant or in *-e*. In the former case, the genitive ends in *-e*; in the latter, in *-an*. Thus the genitive of Burghild is Burghilde, as in the case of Bucklebury. And the genitive of Cille is Cillan, as in the case of Childrey.

It should be borne in mind that most place-names are of rather simple, sometimes of almost trivial origin. When the oldest or Anglo-Saxon form can be recovered, the interpretation is often obvious. When this cannot be done, we must rely upon the oldest and fullest forms in Middle English or in Domesday Book; always bearing in

mind that Norman spellings are often peculiar, and require to be rightly interpreted.

The principal authorities are the following :—

Birch, W. de Gray, Cartularium Saxonicum. London, 1885–93. 3 vols.
Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon ; ed. Rev. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series). 2 vols.
Duignan, W. H., Staffordshire Place-names. London, 1902.
The same ; Worcestershire Place-names. London, 1905.
Earle, Rev. J., Handbook to the Land-Charters. Oxford, 1888.
Kemble, J. M., Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici. London, 1839–48. 6 vols.
Searle, Rev. W. G., Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum. Cambridge, 1897.
Thorpe, B., Diplomatarium Anglicum. London, 1865.

Also the following, denoted by abbreviations :—

Ab.—Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio. London, 1805. Vol. i.
Cat.—A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office. London, 1890. Vol. i.
Cl.R.—Close Rolls ; Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati. A.D. 1204–24. Vol. i.
Cl.R., vol. 2. The same ; vol. 2. A.D. 1224–7.
D.B.—Domesday Book ; part relating to Berkshire.
E.D.D.—The English Dialect Dictionary ; ed. J. Wright.
F.A.—Feudal Aids (Record Series) ; vol. i.
H.R.—Hundred Rolls ; Rotuli Hundredorum ; vol. i.
Index.—Index to Charters in the British Museum ; ed. H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley. London, 1900.
Ipm.—Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem, sive Escaetarum ; ed. J. Caley. (Record Series.) Vol. i.
N.E.D.—The New English Dictionary (Oxford).
Pipe Rolls.—Great Rolls of the Pipe ; ed. J. Hunter. Vol. i (1155–8) ; vol. ii (1189–90).
P.R.—Patent Rolls ; Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium (Henry III—Edward IV).

R.B.—Red Book of the Exchequer; ed. W. D. Selby (Rolls Series). See the index in vol. iii.
R.C.—Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum (John—Henry VI).
R.T.—Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati; ed. T. D. Hardy. London, 1837.
T.E.—Taxatio Ecclesiastica (1291). Ed. 1802.
T.N.—Testa de Neville (Henry III—Edward I).
V.E.—Valor Ecclesiasticus; temp. Henry VIII.
Some of these have indexes of personal names as well as of place-names. Both should be consulted.

The place-names of Berkshire are here arranged (in alphabetical order) under the various suffixes which they exhibit, which are likewise arranged in alphabetical order. The number of names in which no suffix appears is only six; and these are given at the end.

All the suffixes found in Berkshire names are of English origin or form, and may conveniently be here enumerated. They are as follows: *-bergh, -bourn, -brook, -bury, -combe, -cot, -cross, -den, -don* (rarely *-down*), *-ey, -field, -ford, -grave, -hale, -ham* (with two values), *-hay, -hill, -hithe, -holt, -hurst, -ing, -ley, -low, -marsh, -mere* (with two values), *-or, -pen, -ridge, -rith, -shet* (*-shot*), *-stead, -ham-stead, -thorn, -ton, -ware* (*-wer*), *-well, -worth.* The suffixes *-combe* and *-don* were borrowed from Celtic; *-cross* is ultimately Latin. The six names in which no suffix appears are Beedon (notwithstanding its appearance), Bray, Shaw, Shippon, Speen, and Theale.

In selecting the names, I have been guided by Kelly's Post Office Directory of Berkshire, and have included all that seemed to be of any interest.

I have also made much use of the County Atlases by Bacon and Philips; also of an earlier one by Pigot (1831), which gives the hundreds into which the county is divided.

I discuss, first of all, the etymology of Berkshire itself, and then those of a few of the hundreds that are not now coincident with known place-names. Perhaps it is well to warn the reader that many of the explanations that have been offered by some of our antiquaries are sadly mistaken, owing to their almost total ignorance of the phonetic laws of Old English and of Norman French. A conspicuous example of this occurs in the case of Speen, which has frequently been identified with the Latin *Spinae*. I greatly doubt whether it is topographically suitable; indeed, some authors would prefer to locate Spinae at Newbury. But however this may be, it is not possible to identify the *names*; as is shown below.

The most helpful county history is that by Daniel and Samuel Lysons, comprised in vol. i of Magna Britannia; London, 1806–22; quarto. In ten parts, forming six volumes. I have also taken good care to consult Mr. W. H. Stevenson's edition of Asser's Life of King Alfred, which contains some valuable hints, and have carefully considered The History of Berks., by Lieut. Cooper King, though the etymologies there given are frequently due to impossible guesses. The Victoria County History of Berkshire contains useful notes upon Domesday Book.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF BERKSHIRE

Berkshire.

The etymology of Berkshire is, practically, given in the opening sentence of Asser's Life of King Alfred: 'Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCXLIX natus est Ælfred, Angul-Saxonum rex, in villa regia, quae dicitur Uuanating, in illa paga, quae nominatur Berrocscire: quae paga taliter vocatur a Berroc silva, ubi buxus abundantissime nascitur.' Giles's version has: 'In the year of our Lord's incarnation 849, was born Alfred, king of the Anglo-Saxons, at the royal village of Wanating [*footnote*, Wantage], in Berkshire; which country has its name from the wood of Berroc, where the box-tree grows most abundantly.' Here *Berroc* is a sort of polite Latinised spelling of the A.S. *Bearruc*; for *earr* is hardly acceptable to the eye that is accustomed to the Latin *err* in *ferrum*. The Mercian form was Barruc. The true nominative of 'shire' was *scīr*.

We find Bearrucscir in Birch, C. S. iii. 75; Bærrocscir in the same, ii. 378; Berrucscir, ii. 376; Barroccscir in Thorpe, Dipl. Ævi Saxonici, p. 414. Later forms are Berrochescire, D.B., p. 1; Berkesire, R.B.; Barcssire, Robert of Gloucester. Though there is no doubt about the etymology, it

has been absurdly misinterpreted in various ways. Bearruc is, formally, a diminutive of *bearu*, a wood, a grove. The gen. of this is *bearw-es*, showing that the true stem is *bearwo-*, which, by the addition of *-c*, became *bearwoc*, *bearwuc*; and then, by the assimilation of *rw* to *rr*, *bearruc*. The *-c* made little difference to the sense, which Asser expresses by 'silva'. He further tells us that it abounded with box-trees; whence arose *one* of the misinterpretations, viz. that Bearruc meant 'a box-tree'! This is as if we were to declare that forest means 'an oak-tree'; yet it is gravely repeated by successive 'authorities'. The name of the county merely signifies that it once abounded with woodland; and we further learn from Asser that there were many box-trees. As to this latter point, note the place-names Boxford (originally Box-ōra) and Boxgrove in the parish of Sulham, near Reading.

Another fable was started by Brompton, the historian, that Baroc-scir [so misspelt] meant 'bare oak shire', so called from a polled oak in Windsor Forest, where public meetings were held; which is even preserved in Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. It cannot be taken seriously, being but a poor joke; yet it has found its way into school-books on geography, and is industriously taught; for in some schools any rubbish is good enough when English etymology is handled.

Others 'derive' Berkshire from the British tribe of the Bibroci; and others from the Roman town of Bibracte. The effect of the latter attempt is somewhat marred by the rival assertion that

Bibracte is the origin of Bray! Any sort of similarity between two names was held by our older writers to prove identity. The result was sadly embarrassing, as it provided many names with half a dozen origins, and exalted impudent assertions far above positive evidence.

The Berkshire Hundreds.

The hundreds into which Berkshire has been divided have varied to some extent from time to time. They are now twenty in number, viz. Baynhurst, Bray, Charlton, Compton, Cookham, Faircross, Faringdon, Ganfield, Hormer, Kintbury, Lambourn, Moreton, Ock, Reading, Ripplesmere, Shrivenham, Sonning, Theale, Wantage, and Wargrave. The etymologies of these names are all discussed below. It may be remarked that Baynhurst, Faircross, Ganfield, Hormer, Ock, and Ripplesmere are not now place-names. The Charlton near Wantage has nothing to do with the hundred, though its origin is the same. Ock is really the name of a river; called in A.S. Eocca.

In the Hundred Rolls, &c., we meet with some other names, viz. Blekebyr', Borghedeberie, Cotsettlesford, Rugheberg. Blekebyr' is discussed under Blewberry; Borghedeberie is a form of Bucklebury, and Rugheberg of Roborough. Cotsettlesford (not noticed in D.B.) is explained by the A.S. *cotsetla*, a cottager; lit. a settler in a cot; so that the sense is 'cottager's ford'.

In the Domesday Book we meet with a few other names, some of which are merely variants

of those already mentioned. Thus Beners appears to be Baynhurst; Blitberie is a by-form of Blewberry; Cerletone is Charlton; Gamenesfelle is Ganfield; Hilleslaue is discussed under Ilsley; Hornimere is Hormer; Merceham is Marcham; Roeberg is the Rugheberg of the Hundred Rolls; Sudtune and Taceham are Sutton and Thatcham. The hundreds of Kintbury and Egley, called in D.B. Cheneteberie and Eglei respectively, are now united in the hundred of Kintbury, formerly called Kintbury-Eagle. But we further meet with some entirely new names of hundreds: Eslitesford, Nachededorn, and Wifol, which correspond to nothing that is now known. I make a few remarks upon each of these.

Eslitesford. Also spelt *Eletesford*, D.B., p. 13; *Heslitesford*, p. 2; but the *H* is of no value; English names beginning with *Sl* had an *E* (or *He*) prefixed to them to suit the Norman pronunciation. Cf. *Sleteford*, Pipe Rolls (1 Rich. I); *Slottesford*, F.A. The prefix represents an A.S. Slottes- or Slyttes-, the gen. case of some unknown masculine personal name; from a nominative Slott or Slytt. We cannot tell. It seems to have formed a part of Moreton hundred.

Nachededorn. This curious name evidently arose from the A.S. phrase 'æt tham nacodan thorne', at the Naked Thorn. As Mr. Stevenson says, in his edition of Asser, p. 238, 'it is tempting to identify this bare or leafless thorn with the *unica spinosa arbor*' mentioned in the Life of Alfred, ch. 39, l. 5. This refers to the battle of

Ashdown, where Dr. Giles's translation has:— 'There was also a single thorn-tree, of stunted growth, and we have with our own eyes seen it. Around this tree the opposing armies came together with loud shouts from all sides,' &c. (p. 55). This old hundred is now included in the hundred of Compton.

Wifol, or Wiford. In D.B., p. 8, it appears as Wiford, which is the more intelligible form; but some consonant has been lost before the *f*, most likely a guttural. It may very well represent the A.S. Wicford, modern E. Wickford. There is a Wickford in Essex. From the A.S. *wīc*, Lat. *uīcus*, a village. The sense would be 'ford near a village'.

I may add that *Merceham* and *Sudtune*, names of hundreds in D.B., i. e. Marcham and Sutton, are now both in the hundred of Ock. *Taceham* (Thatcham) is in the hundred of Reading.

The boundaries of the modern hundreds are so extremely irregular, and their shapes are so extraordinary, that the position of a given place in the hundred to which it is assigned can only be understood by reference to a map in which these boundaries are well defined. For example, Cookham hundred consists of two portions, at some distance apart; and Cookham itself is in the smaller portion of the two.

The Suffix -bergh.

Bergh is the Middle English form of the suffix which appears in A.S. (Anglo-Saxon) as *beorh*, Mercian *berh*, a hill; whence the modern E. *barrow*,

in the sense of burial-mound or tumulus. Being little used, it was easily confused with the modern E. *borough*, and appears in that form in the two examples given below.

Farnborough. Spelt *Farnborowe* in V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). But the older spelling is *Farnberg*, T.E.; or *Farnebergh*, Ipm.; *Fermeberge* (error for *Ferneberge*), D.B., p. 7. In a charter dated 931, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 370, the boundaries of some land at Farnborough are given; and we find the various forms following, viz. to Fearn-beorgan, of Fearn-beorge, on Fearn-beorg. Hence we may infer the nom. sing. Fearn-beorh, dat. Fearn-beorge. The meaning is 'fern-hill'.

Roborough. There is now no such place; but this form occurs as the name of a 'hundred' in S. Devon. It is the modern form of a Berkshire hundred spelt *Rugheberg* in the Hundred Rolls, vol. i, and *Rubergh* in Ipm. D.B. has *Roeberg hundred*, p. 5. The late A.S. form is Rūanbergh, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 227; better Rūwan-beorh, as in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 309; though these examples do not refer to Berkshire. However, we find (probably another) Rūwan-beorg in a Berks. charter, in Birch, C.S. ii. 516. Another variant is Rūgan-beorh, id. i. 545, or Rūgan-biorg, ii. 362; and, in the line above, we find Rūgan-slæd; which makes it likely that Rūgan is the gen. of Rūga, a personal name. The lit. sense of *rūga* is 'rough', as it is a definite form of A.S. *rūh*, rough. If this be right, the sense is 'Rūga's (or Rūwa's) barrow', rather than simply 'rough hill'.

BOURN.

Bourn, bourne, or *borne,* represents the A.S. *burn,* a small river, a stream. Examples occur in Cranbourn (near Winkfield), Enborne, Hagbourne, Lambourn, Pangbourn, Shalbourne (formerly in Berks., but now in Wilts.), and Winterbourne.

CRANBOURN. The prefix represents the A.S. *cran,* a crane; a bird 'formerly abundant in Great Britain, and prized as food, but now extinct'; N.E.D. The sense is 'crane stream'; and was at first applied to a streamlet. Cranbourn Wood adjoins Windsor Park.

ENBORNE. The forms are *Eneburne,* F.A. (1316); *Eneburn,* H.R.; *Enedburn,* T.N.; *Enedeborne,* R.C. All from A.S. *ened,* cognate with Lat. *anas* (gen. *anat-is*), a duck. The sense is 'duck-stream'; originally applied to the stream which, under the name of the river Emborne, forms a part of the boundary between Berks. and Hants. Cf. Enford (Wilts.), formerly Enedford, i.e. 'duck-ford'; Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 408. It is strange that the river itself is corruptly called the Emborne; though the names are both from the same original.

HAGBOURNE. East and West Hagbourne are to the west of Wallingford. Called *Hagborne* in V.E. (temp. Hen. VIII). But the older form is *Hakeburn,* T.N.; T.E.; *Hakeburne,* F.A.; D.B. has *Hacheborne*; p. 12. A charter of King Ælfred has 'æt Hacce-burnan, ðonon of Hacce-brōce', &c., Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 206–7; and

Hacce- answers to the later *Hake-* and to *Hache-* in D.B. (with *ch* for *k*). But it is not the original form, as shown by the variant Haccan-brōc in the same, p. 557; which alone could give *Hake-* and *Hag-*. Haccan is the genitive case of the personal name Hacca; and the sense is 'Hacca's stream'; just as Haccan-brōc is 'Hacca's brook'.

Lambourn. This is the name of a stream, a place, and a hundred. D.B., p. 4, speaks of *Lamborne in Lamborne hundred.* The A.S. Lamb-burnan occurs in King Ælfred's Will; Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 178. Evidently compounded of *lamb*, a lamb, and *burna*, by-form of *burn*, a stream. The sense is 'lamb-stream'. In F.A. the place is called Chepinglamborne, i.e. Market Lambourn; from the A.S. *cēaping*, bargaining. See *Cheaping* in N.E.D. We also find the A.S. spelling Lamburna in 943; Birch, C.S. ii. 535. This might be explained as being from the A.S. *lām*, loam; with the *a* shortened before *mb*. It is difficult to decide; but the spelling given above, in a document so important as Alfred's Will, is a strong argument in favour of the former explanation. In Birch, C.S. iii. 29, *lámburna* has the *a* marked long, but this may be due to the occurrence of *lām-pyt* below. Mr. McClure (British Place-names, p. 289) decides that *Lamb-hythe* in the A.S. Chron., an. 1041, is a late form, and corrupted from Lām-hythe; but he produces no evidence beyond a statement that the latter form is found in 1088! Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 158, has Lambehythe in a charter of Edward the Confessor; but

the copy is late. It is difficult to see how the long *ā* could have been shortened before *mh*; the A.S. Lām-hythe should have become Loam-hithe. His further argument that 'loam-hithe' is analogous to 'chalk-hithe', which is the meaning of Chelsea, is easily met by adducing the form Rother-hithe. And why is the *b* in Lambeth so strongly pronounced even at the present day?

Pangbourn. This is situate at the junction with the Thames of the river Pang, formerly called the Pangbourn. Spelt *Pangeburn*, T.E.; D.B., p. 5, has *Pandeborne*, better spelt *Pangeborne* at p. 12 of the same. The original form of the prefix is very curious; it appears in the forms Peginga-burnan and Pægeinga-burnan in a charter of the date 833 or 834; Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 20. The shortened form Pangan-burnan occurs in 956; p. 88. All these forms are in an oblique case, from the weak masc. nom. *burna*. The correct old form is Pǣginga-burna, i. e. 'the stream of the sons of Pǣga'; since Pǣginga is the gen. pl. of Pǣg-ing, 'a son of Pǣga,' which is a recorded personal name. The abbreviation was easily made, because the A.S. *g* represented a mere glide, like the modern E. *y* in *pay*; so that the original sound, somewhat like that of *paying*, was shortened to something like *paing*, and then to *pang*. This is a good example of the difficulty of guessing the source of a name beforehand. The fact that the *y*-sound was sometimes written as *ge* explains the form Pǣgeinga.

Shalbourne. Now in Wilts., but formerly in

Berks. Spelt *Shalborne*, V.E. (temp. Hen. VIII); but at an earlier date with *ld*, as in *Shaldeburne*, F.A. (1316); also with *aud* for *ald*, as in *Scaudiburne*, R.B. Owing to the Norman inability to pronounce the E. *Sh*, it appears in D.B. as *Eseldeborne*; p. 4. The A.S. form occurs in æt Scealdeburnan, dat.; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 404. From the A.S. *sceald*, 'shallow'; so that the sense is 'shallow stream'. The A.S. *sceald* is not in the Dictionaries, but has been amply exemplified by Mr. Stevenson in his paper in the Phil. Soc. Trans., 1895–8, p. 532. The M.E. form is *shald*, as in Barbour's Bruce, bk. ix, l. 354. The *a* was sometimes lengthened, and so passed into long *o*, and the word survives in the expression 'shoal water', with loss of the final *d*. Dryden has *shoaly* in much the same sense, in his translation of Virgil, Æn. V. 1130. The same prefix occurs in Shalfleet in the Isle of Wight, Shalford in Essex and Surrey, and Shelford in Cambridgeshire. See my article on Shelford, in The Place-names of Cambs.

Winterbourne. It lies between Chieveley and Boxford. Spelt *Winterburn*, H.R.; *Wintreborne* in D.B., pp. 5, 12. The name also occurs in Gloucs., and several times in Dorsets. and Wilts. A.S. Winterburna, as in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 347 (A.D. 930). Still common in Hants and Sussex (see E.D.D.), to signify an intermittent stream that flows in the winter-time. Whoever desires a full and exact description of a 'winter-bourn' will find it in Blackmore's novel entitled Alice Lorraine.

Brook.

Shottesbrook. There is but little difference between *bourn* and *brook*, either in sense or use. The only example of the latter is in Shottesbrook, not far from Bray, where a brook from the neighbourhood of Shottesbrook enters the Thames. Spelt *Shotesbroke*, P.R.; *Schottesbroch*, Pipe Rolls (1 Rich. I). But owing to the Norman difficulty of pronouncing *Sh*, the usual forms are *Sottesbroc*, Ipm.; *Sottebroc*, T.N.; *Sotesbroke*, F.A. (1316); *Sotesbroc*, R.B.; *Sotesbroc*, D.B., p. 16. In such a case, the modern English sound is a better guide than the old Normanised spelling. The A.S. form of the prefix is Scottes, which occurs in Scottes-healh, lit. 'Scot's [or Shot's] haugh', in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 240 (A.D. 958). Scottes is the gen. sing. of the known name Scot (pronounced as *shot*). The sense is 'Shot's brook'. Whether this personal name was the same word as the A.S. Scot, meaning (1) a Scot of Ireland, and (2) a Scot of Scotland, can hardly be decided. There is no absolute necessity for considering them identical.

Bury.

Bury represents the A.S. *byrig*, really the *dative* case of *burh*, mod. E. *borough*. The use of the dative arose from the old habit of prefixing (or understanding) the preposition *æt*, 'at', before most place-names. Examples occur in Ashbury, Badbury Hill, Blewberry, Bucklebury, Eastbury, Grimsbury, Kintbury, Newbury.

Ashbury. It lies between Shrivenham and

Lambourn. Spelt *Asschebury*, Ipm. (1316–17). But the A.S. name was æt Æscesbyrig; Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 548 (A.D. 944). The nom. case occurs as Æscesburh; id. iii. 59 (A.D. 953). This renders it certain that the name is *not* derived (as a guesser would suppose) from *ash* as the name of a tree; but from the A.S. *Æsc*, which was in use as a man's name, though the *original* sense had reference to the tree. One Æsc was the son of no less a man than Hengist. Hence the sense is 'Æsc's borough', or 'Ash's borough'. Of course the syllable *-es* was easily lost after the sound of *sh*.

Badbury Hill. Near Faringdon. There is also a hundred in Dorsets. called Badbury hundred. The latter is spelt *Baddebury*, Ipm. The A.S. form is Baddanbyrig; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 214; Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 540. The same prefix occurs in Baddandūn; Birch, C. S. i. 179. Baddan is the gen. case of Badda, a known name. Hence the sense is 'Badda's borough'. Similarly, Baddandūn means 'Badda's down'.

Blewberry, or Blewbury. The usual Middle English forms are *Blebury*, T.E.; *Blebery*, R.B.; H.R.; *Bleobery*, R.C. It was formerly also the name of a hundred, which appears in the curious form *Blekebyr'*, H.R. D.B. has yet a third form, viz. *Blitberie in Blitberie hundred*; p. 2. But the A.S. form agrees with the M.E. forms, appearing as Blēobyrig (dat. case), Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 557, line 13. The prefix *blēo* is a sb. in frequent use, with the senses of colour, hue, complexion, look,

appearance; the M.E. form being *blee*. The A.S. *blēo* and M.E. *blee* were applied to things both of disagreeable and agreeable appearance; at the same time, we frequently find, at least in the M.E. period, the phrase 'bright of blee', i. e. of bright or fair hue. This suggests that the original sense of Blēobyrig was literally 'show-borough', i.e. 'bright borough'; compare such names as Fairfield, Fairford, Fairlight, Fairsted, and the Berks. Brightwell, as explained below. When this prefix Blee- became unintelligible, it was supplanted by the Norman Bleu- or Blew-, i.e. 'blue'. The variants *Blekebyr'* (for *Blekebyri*) and *Blitberie* are difficult to explain, and I can only offer a suggestion. Such spellings as *Blebery, Bleobery, Blitberie*, and the modern *Blewberry* suggest that, in this instance (but in no other), the suffix was confused with the mod. E. *berry*, M.E. *berye, berie*; or rather that the name of the place was confused with that of the prov. E. *blaeberry* or *bleaberry*, a bilberry; and as the literal sense of this *blae* was 'blue', this may further account for the name Blew-berry. The form *Blekebyri*, however, is suggestive rather of the blackberry, A.S. *blaceberie*; of which it is just possible that the Norman *Blitberie* is a poor imitation, though it is closer in form to 'blithe bury'. However, we are sure that neither *Blekebyri* nor *Blitberie* is really due to the A.S. Blēobyrig; nor is either really connected with the modern name. But that there has been an alteration from the A.S. *blēo*, 'hue,' to the M.E. *blew*, 'blue,' is quite clear; though the two words are in no way connected by etymology.

Bucklebury. On the river Pang. The sense is quite certain, though it could hardly have been guessed. The form is *Buckilbury*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). But the earlier forms are different, viz. *Burghildebur'*, T.E.; *Burghildeburg*, F.A. (1316); *Burhildbury*, Ipm. It was formerly also the name of a hundred; spelt *Burghildebyr'*, H.R.; *Burghildebury*, F.A. (1316). D.B. has *Borgedeberie in Borgedeberie hundred*; p. 9. The M.E. forms can only represent an A.S. form Burghilde byrig, where Burghild is a known A.S. *feminine* name, with the fem. gen. in *-e* instead of the masc. gen. in *-es*. The sense is 'Burghild's borough'; it being borne in mind that Burghild was a woman. One Burghild was a king's daughter, viz. a daughter of Cēnwulf, king of Mercia (796–819); see Searle's Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum. We again meet the same genitive feminine in a slightly debased form, in the case of Burgilde trēow, i.e. 'Burghild's tree'; Birch, C.S. ii. 207, l. 2; and in a still more debased form, in the case of Buggilde stret, i.e. 'Burghild's street'; id. i. 184, l. 14.

Eastbury. Spelt *Estbury*, Ipm.; *Estbery*, R.B.; *Esbury*, H.R. The sense is obvious, viz. 'East borough'.

Grimsbury. Spelt *Grimmesbiria*, R.B. There is mention of a Northants. *Grimesbiri* in Ipm., p. 11. The sense is obvious, viz. 'Grim's borough'. There is a Grimes Hill in Worcs., also a Grim's Pits; concerning which Mr. Duignan remarks that 'Grim was an A.S. name [originally a Norse name], but it also meant a spectre, goblin, or evil spirit.

Grimes Dyke, Grimes Graves, Grimsditch, are prehistoric earthworks, and the probability is that supernatural agency in their construction is referred to'. A reference to *Grimes dic*, 'Grim's dyke,' occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 110, l. 22.

KINTBURY. Also the name of a hundred. We find *Kenetbury hundred*, Ipm.; *Kenetebur' hundred*, H.R.; *hundreda de Kenetbury et Eggle*, F.A. (1316); *Kenetebury*, T.E.; *Chenetcberie in Ch. hundred*, D.B., p. 4. The A.S. form appears in 'æt Cynetan byrig'; Birch, C.S. ii. 367. The sense is 'Kennet borough'; the reference being to the river Kennet, called Cyneta in Anglo-Saxon. This river-name is certainly of Celtic origin. The A.S. Cyneta represents an older form *Cunetio; which may be compared with the Latin place-name Cunetione (abl.) in the Itinerary of Antoninus, no. xiv, also probably due to the British name of the same river. Cf. Kennet in my Place-names of Cambs. For 'Eagle', see EGLEY, p. 73.

NEWBURY. The sense is simply 'new borough'. But at the present date it is not 'new' by any means. It is spelt *Newburye* in Ipm., p. 242, under the date 1310–11; but in the same, p. 107, *Johannes de Neubiry* is referred to as possessing land in Berks. in 1290, which shows at once that it is older than this latter year. The earliest reference to it that I have observed belongs to the reign of Henry I (1100–35); viz. in Stevenson's edition of the Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 77, where we find the expression *apud Niuueberiam*; *w* being denoted by *uu*. The very form of the word shows

its antiquity, as it answers to A.S. *nīwan byrig* (dative). In the Hist. of Berks., by Lieut. Cooper King, p. 89, we are told that the castle of Newbury was erected by the Earl of Perche, 'probably in the early part of the *thirteenth* century, and was stormed by Stephen in 1154'; where it is obvious that for *thirteenth* we must read *twelfth*. Perhaps we may date it soon after 1100. From Camden's remark that 'Newburie must acknowledge Speen as its mother', I entirely dissent. It arose from his identification of Speen with the Roman *Spinae*, which is nothing but an unjustifiable guess. See remarks upon Speen at p. 112. But perhaps he only meant that Newbury would suit the position of Spinae much better than Speen; and this may easily be the case; since (as is explained below) Spinae and Speen are independent of each other, and refer to different places.

Combe.

Combe, spelt *Coomb* in the New E. Dict., means a deep hollow or narrow valley, and is often applied to a hollow on the flank of a hill. The A.S. form is *cumb*, probably of Celtic origin; the Welsh *cwm* has the same sense, and occurs in Welsh place-names. Whitley Stokes refers the latter to a Celtic type **kumbā*, a valley. This suffix occurs in Letcombe, Ruscombe, and Whatcomb.

Letcombe. There are two places of this name, near together, viz. Letcombe Regis (King's Letcombe) and Letcombe Basset. The Bassets were a Norman family, who possessed lands in

various parts of England. Lysons says that they had the manor of Letcombe in the thirteenth century, in succession to D'Oilly. Spelt *Letecoumb*, H.R.; but usually *Ledecumbe*, P.R.; R.B.; R.C.; T.E.; T.N. Also in D.B., p. 13. A fuller form is *Ledencumbe*, D.B., p. 4. As to what was the A.S. form, we have no evidence. We can only guess. However, the prefix *Leden-* exactly agrees with the A.S. Lēodan, genitive of Lēoda, where Lēoda may be a pet-name for one of the numerous names beginning with Lēod-, such as Lēodbeald, Lēodbrand, &c. If this be right, the sense is 'Lēoda's combe'. We may compare the Middle English *Ledebury*, in Ipm., the old name of Ledbury in Herefordshire. Ledcombe became Letcombe as a matter of course, by the influence of the unvoiced *c* upon the voiced *d*.

Ruscombe. Near Twyford. Spelt *Ruscombe*, V.E.; *Roscombe*, F.A. Probably the sense is 'rush combe'. Cf. Rushden, in Herts.

Whatcomb, or Watcumbe. D.B. has *Watecumbe*; p. 13. Lysons refers it to Watcumbe in Great Shefford. Bacon's map gives Whatcomb Farm between Chaddleworth and S. Fawley. Whatcombshey refers to a place in Somersets.; and Whetecombe is in Dorsets.; Birch, C.S. ii. 205, 422. The prefix *Wate-* here represents the A.S. *hwæte*, wheat, which occurs in several compounds, such as Whatfield in Suffolk. The sense is 'wheat combe'. See Waddon in my Place-names of Cambs., and cf. Wheathampstead in Herts.

Cot.

Cot or *Cote* is the old word for a cottage or small detached house, and is common in place-names. From the A.S. *cot*, a cottage. It occurs in Ascot, Buscot, Didcot, Draycot, Hodcot, and Longcott.

Ascot. Near Sunninghill. Spelt *Ascote*, P.R.; but *Escot*, T.N. The latter is for *Estcot*, i.e. 'east cot'. Cf. the A.S. forms Eastcotun, Eastcoten, which are in the dat. plural; Birch, C.S. ii. 335, iii. 621. The same substitution of *As-* for the A.S. *ēast*, M.E. *ēst*, occurs in the case of Aston, p. 91. Compare also Eastcotts, near Cardington, Beds.

Buscot. On the Thames, above Eaton Hastings. A curious example of a much abbreviated form; but easily restored. Spelt *Burwardescote*, Ipm.; *Borwardescote*, F.A.; *Burwardescot*, T.N.; *Burewardescote*, T.E.; *Burwardscott*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). D.B. has *Boroardescote*; p. 9. All the forms represent a Mercian form Burgwardes cot; where Burgward is the Mercian form of Burgweard, a known personal name. Hence the sense is 'Burgward's (or Burgweard's) cot'.

Didcot. Sometimes called Dudcote (Kelly). Spelt *Dudcote*, Ipm.; *Dudecote*, R.B.; V.E.; *Doudecote*, *Dudecothe*, T.N. The A.S. *y* is variously represented in later English by *i* and *u*; so that *Did-* and *Dud-* are both due to the personal name Dydda, not noticed by Searle, but occurring in Dyddan-hamm, in Birch, C. S. iii. 101, 103; Dyddan being the gen. of Dydda. The sense is

'Dydda's cot'. A very similar name is Dudda, preserved in Dudley, Wores. Cf. also Dydinc-cotan (dative); Birch, C. S. iii. 486.

Draycot. Draycot Moor is a township in Long-worth (Kelly). Spelt *Draicote*, R.B.; D.B., p. 7; and in the Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 5 (A.D. 1066–87). The prefix is discussed under Drayton, p. 95. The probable sense is a 'cot for shelter'. Taylor's explanation, viz. 'dry cot', is out of the question, as the A.S. for 'dry' is *drȳge*, which is in no way related, and would have given Drycot.

Hodcot. Situate in West Ilsley. In Ipm., p. 49, the manors of *Hodicote* and *West Hildesleye* are mentioned together. D.B. also has *Hodicote*; p. 11. *Hodi-* is shortened from *Hoden*, a later form of A.S. Hodan, gen. of Hoda, a known personal name. The sense is therefore 'Hoda's cot'. One Hoda was certainly a Berkshire man, as he was buried near Sparsholt. This we learn from Birch, C. S. iii. 359 (A.D. 963), where mention is made in a Sparsholt charter of Hodan hlæw, i. e. 'Hoda's burial-mound'.

Longcot, or Longcott. It lies to the NE. of Shrivenham. I find no early mention of it, and it may be comparatively modern. The sense, viz. 'long cot', is obvious.

Cross.

Faircross. One of the hundreds is called Fair-cross hundred; evidently named from a fair or well-made cross, of which I find three notices. Ballivam *Belle Crucis*, Ab.; hundredum de *Bella*

Cruce, H.R.; F.A. (1428). Chieveley is near the central point of this hundred.

Cross is borrowed from a Celtic form that was itself an adaptation of Lat. *crucem*, acc. of *crux*, a cross. See Cross in N.E.D.

Dene, Den.

The suffix *-dene* or *-den* represents the A.S. *denu*, a valley, and is rather common. But Berks. furnishes only two examples of it, viz. Basilden or Basildon, and Yattenden, of which the usual spelling is Yattendon. The suffixes *denu*, a valley, and *dūn*, a down, or in modern English *dene* and *down*, often reduced to *-den* and *-don*, are very frequently confused; for wherever there is a valley there is usually a hill or hills above, and the village might take its name from either.

Basilden, or Basildon. Near the Thames, between Wallingford and Reading. The former is the better spelling. Formerly spelt *Basteldene*, Ipm.; *Bastildene*, Ipm.; R.C.; *Bastilesden*, Ipm. (1241–2); *Basteleden*, *Bastelesden*, T.N.; *Bastindene*, R.B. D.B. has *Bastedene*; p. 3. The best form of the prefix is *Basteles*, out of which all the rest can be produced. This answers to the A.S. Bæstles, spelt Bæstlæs in Bæstlæs-ford, Birch, C. S. ii. 207, and Bestles in Bestles-ford, on the same page. We also find Bestles-ford in the same, i. 108, 147. The charters connect Bæstles-ford or Bestles-ford with Bradfield (Berks.), not far from Basildon; so that it is clear that the personal name (and probably the person) is the same in Bæstles-ford as in

Basilden. The nom. case is Bæstel, later Bestel; the latter is given in Searle, p. 105. Hence the sense is 'Bæstel's dene' or 'Bæstel's valley'. Note that the genitive of such a form as Bæstel is not Bæsteles, but Bæstles; by rule. See also Bisham, p. 55.

Yattenden, or Yattendon. In the present case the old spellings are likewise decisive. We find *Yatindene*, F.A. (1316); *Yatendene*, F.A. (1428); *Yatingeden*, *Yatingden*, *Yetingeden*, T.N.; *Yetingden*, P.R.; *Yatingdon*, *Yatinden*, Ipm.; *Yatyndene*, Index to Charters (1365). D.B. has *Etingedene*; p. 11. The fullest forms of the prefix are *Yatinge*, *Yetinge*, representing an A.S. Gēatinga, gen. pl. of Gēating, a patronymic formed from the personal name Gēat. In the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 855, we find a note as to 'Godwulf Gēating, Gēat Tætwaing'; meaning that Godwulf was the son of Gēat, and Gēat was the son of Tætwa. These names occur in the pedigree of King Æthelwulf, father of Ælfred the Great. Gēat is by no means a common name, and it is remarkable that it only occurs once in a charter; but this is a Berks. charter, granted to Abingdon. See Birch, C. S. iii. 68, which informs us that there was once a place near Cumnor called Gēates-cumb, or 'Gēat's combe'. Hence the meaning of Yattenden is 'valley of the Gēatings or sons of Gēat'. It has to be observed that the A.S. *g* was pronounced as a *y* before *e*, and the initial sound *gēa-* (also *geā-*) would give either *yē-* or *yā-* in later forms, and could be shortened (as it was) to *yĕ-* or *yă-* before

the following *t*; so that the development to Yettenden and Yattenden (of which only the latter has survived) is quite regular. [N.B. Shortly after writing the above I observed that W. H. Stevenson expressly says of Yattenden—'that name must have appeared in Old English as **Geatinga-denu*'; Asser's Life of Alfred, ed. W. H. Stevenson, p. 277. No other solution is possible.]

Down, -don.

The suffix *-down*, often shortened to *-don*, represents the A.S. *dūn*, a down or hill. It occurs in Abingdon, Ashdown, Faringdon, Moreton (originally Mordon), and in Sinodon Hill.

Abingdon. Several place-names ending in *-ingdon* or *-ington* exhibit a corrupt form of suffix, which should rather be *-indon* and *-inton*, or *-endon* and *-enton*. A well-known example occurs in Newington, representing the A.S. *nīwan tūne* (dative), which means precisely the same thing as the commoner Newton. The *-ing* has here supplanted an older *-en* (for A.S. *-an*), which is nothing but the sign of the dative case. Similarly, Abingdon should rather have become Abbindon or Abbendon; as will appear. Old spellings are: *Abingdon*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); *de Abendonia*, R.B.; *Abbendon*, H.R.; *Abendon*, T.E.; Ipm. In the A.S. charters, we find 'iuxta Abbendūne', C.S. i. 147; 'e latere montis Æbbandūne' (where the final *-e* represents the Latin gen. suffix *-ae*), id. 224; and Æbbandūne (dative), id. 490. The nominative case is Æbban-dūn; where Æbban is

the gen. of the masculine personal name Æbba, or of the feminine name Æbbe. We cannot say which, as both of these occur; but the former is perhaps more likely to have given name to a hill. The names may also be written Abba and Abbe; but the fem. form Abbe has not been noted. The prefix in Abing-ton (Cambs. and Northants) has the same origin. I explain it as 'Æbba's down'. According to the Chronicle of Abingdon, i. 6, Æbban-dūn was not the original name. The previous name was Seoueces-hām, answering to A.S. Seofeces-hām, i.e. 'Scofec's home'; where Scofec is a strong masculine allied to the weak masculine Seofeca which appears in the original form of Seacourt. Any suggestion that Seoueces-hām may be of British origin must be summarily dismissed; for *hām* is characteristically English. See SEACOURT, p. 107.

ASHDOWN. Ashdown Park lies to the SE. of Ashbury; and just as it has been shown at p. 20 that the Ash- in Ash-bury does not refer to the ash-tree, but to a man's name, we find the same to be true of Ashdown. It happens that D.B. has *Assedone*, p. 9; but this is not to be identified with Ashdown (see p. 32). Robert of Gloucester, in his Chronicle, has the notable form *Assesdoune*, lines 5312 and 6004, at a later date. The true spelling occurs as Æsces dūn, in the A.S. Chronicle, under the years 648, 661, and 871. Hence the sense is 'Æsc's (or Ash's) down'. No doubt the same Æsc gave name to both places. For further information, see the remarks at pp. 234–8

of W. H. Stevenson's edition of Asser's Life of Alfred. It is there pointed out that the D.B. spelling *Assedone* cited above is an error for *Assedene*, and does not refer to Ashdown at all. Also, that Æsces-dūn was a range of hills, 'a district or country rather than a town.' And it is remarkable that Asser's Latin text (much interpolated) has 'Æscesdun, quod Latine "mons fraxini" interpretatur', which is contrary to fact, and 'not a mistake that an Englishman in the ninth century would be likely to make'. He adds—'the use of the genitive was restricted to compounds of which the first member was a personal name.'

Faringdon. As in the case of Abingdon, the *ng* is here delusive and unoriginal. Faringdon is also the name of a hundred; and we find mention of *Farindon hundred*, H.R.; also of *Ferendone*, R.B.; *Farendone*, Robert of Gloucester; *Farendon*, T.N.; but *Farndon*, T.E. D.B. has *Ferendone*; p. 4. In the A.S. Chronicle, anno 924, two of the MSS. say that King Eadweard died among the Mercians at 'Farndun' or at 'Fearndun'; which is explained by Mr. Plummer to refer to Faringdon, Berks. If this, as is probable, is really the case, we must suppose that, in such spellings as Farendon and Farindon, the *e* or *i* after the *r* merely means that the *r* was strongly trilled; examples of similar spellings are, in fact, known. A curious example of this occurs in Ipm., p. 157, where there is mention of 'Farendon iuxta Bowdon, North[amp]t[onshire]', which of course means E. Farndon, near Little Bowden, in that county;

and the name of 'Westfarendon' occurs a few lines above. If we accept this simple solution, the Middle English spellings represent an A.S. form *fearn-dūn*, which appears in Kemble's Index, and merely means 'fern-down'. Otherwise we should have to assume a personal name *Færa, gen. *Færan, and to explain it as 'Færa's down'. Færa is quite possible as a pet name, since we find many examples of names beginning with Fær-, such as Færbeorht, Færhild, Færman, Færmund, &c. Note also Færn-dun, 'fern-down'; Birch, C.S. iii. 432.

Moreton. N. and S. Moreton are near Wallingford. Morton is also the name of the hundred in which they are situate. The suffix *-ton* is very old, as it appears in D.B.; probably it was substituted by the Normans for the original A.S. suffix *-dūn*. We find *Morton*, T.N.; *Morton hundred*, H.R.; *Northmorton*, Ipm. Also *Mortune in Blitberie* [Blewberry] *hundred*; D.B., pp. 11, 15. But the A.S. form was Mōrdūn, as in the grant by King Eadweard of land at Mordun, in Birch, C.S. iii. 323 (A.D. 962). The sense is simply 'moor-down'; from the A.S. *mōr*, a moor.

Sinodun Hill, or Sinodon Hill. A hill with this strange name lies to the NW. of Wallingford. I find no especial mention of it, but I notice it in order to point out that there is no particular reason why it may not simply mean 'synod-down'. Hills were often used for meetings, and it is a curious fact that the word *synod*, though of Greek origin, was a fairly common word in A.S. times,

and appears several times in the A.S. Chronicle, spelt *sinoth, senoth, synoth, sinath,* with the sense of 'council'. Compare such expressions as 'terra de Synod', R.T., in the 16th year of King John; *gemōt-lēah,* lit. 'meeting-lea', in Birch, C.S. iii. 492, line 25; *seonoth-stōw,* Ælfred's Beda, ii. 2.

The Suffix -ey.

The Middle English *ey* answers to the Anglian *ēg,* A.S. *ieg, īg,* an island. It meant not only 'island' in the modern sense, but peninsula; or, indeed, any piece of land wholly or partially surrounded by brooks or marshy country. It occurs in Binsey, Charney, Cholsey, Goosey, Hanney (or Hannay), Hinksey, Mackney, Pusey, Tubney. (But not in Childrey.)

Binsey. Not far from Oxford, and near the Thames. I can find little mention of it; but R.T. has *Benesceia,* which is a Latinised form of it. The *-es* is the genitive case-ending of strong sbs. ending in *n,* or even in *i* (later *e*) if the vowel is short; and *Benes* may represent the genitive of *Beni, or of Byni, of which only the latter form is found. The sense is probably 'Byni's isle'. The *y* is short.

Charney. Beside the river Ock, in the Vale of the White Horse. Also known as Charney Basset, the Bassets being a Norman family who owned land in Berks. Spelt *Cerney,* T.N.; *Cernee,* T.E. D.B. has *Cernei*; p. 8. The A.S. form is Ceornei; Birch, C.S. i. 506, l. 2. The prefix is a river-name; it is spelt Cern in Birch, C.S.

iii. 238. In the Chronicle of Abingdon, i. 29, we find 'flumen . . Cirn-ēa'; where *ēa* is the A.S. for 'river' or 'stream'. In Birch, ii. 60, it is spelt Cyrn-ēa. There is a river Cerne in Dorsets., which flows into the Frome. The name is probably Celtic; there is a river Cerniog in Montgomeryshire, which flows into the river Carno; and the latter joins the Severn. The sense of Charney is 'Cern-isle', or 'isle in (or beside) the Cern'.

Cholsey. Beside a stream that joins the Thames. Spelt *Celsei* in D.B.; p. 2. The boundaries are given in a charter of Ælfred, in Birch, C.S. ii. 206; where the dat. case appears as Cēolsīge, from the nom. Cēols-īg. Here Cēols is for Cēoles, gen. of the personal name Cēol. The sense is 'Ceol's isle'. Of course Taylor is wrong in explaining *cēol* here as meaning 'ship' or 'keel'. The *s* shows that it is a man's name.

Goosey. Beside a stream that joins the river Ock. Spelt *Goseye*, T.E.; *de Goseya* (Latin), R.B.; *Gosei*, D.B., p. 7. The A.S. form is Gōs-īg, of which the dative Gōs-īge occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 69; where the boundaries of Goosey are given. Among the boundaries are mentioned the *mǣr-dīc*, or boundary-ditch, a brook called Teale-burn, the river Ock, and another stream and brook; so that it was once isolated. The sense is 'goose isle'.

Hanney, West and East. West Hanney lies between two affluents of the river Ock. Spelt *Hanney*, R.C.; *Hanneie*, R.B.; *Hannei*, D.B., p. 9. The boundaries of Hanney are given in a

charter dated 956; the dative æt Hannīge occurs there, in Birch, C.S. iii. 129. The nominative is Hann-īg; where the prefix appears to represent han-, the form which *hana*, a cock, takes in compounds, as in *han-crēd*, 'cock-crow.' The sense, accordingly, is 'cock isle'; with reference, perhaps, to water-hens (Taylor). Compare Goosey above, and Hendred, p. 86.

Hinksey, North and South. Near Oxford and the Thames. In an Abingdon charter, printed in Birch, C.S. i. 505, we find it spelt Hengestesie; and in a note printed on p. 506 it appears as Hengestes-ieg. The sense is obvious from this form, viz. 'Hengest's isle'. Similarly, Hinxton (Cambs.) means 'Hengest's town'; and Hinxworth (Herts.) means 'Hengest's worth (or farm)'. The latter is spelt *Haingeste uuorde* in D.B. Hengest was a personal name, not merely (as Taylor says) a horse.

Mackney. Near a stream that joins the Thames at Wallingford. Spelt *Mackeney*, T.N.; F.A. (1428). The A.S. gen. Maccanīges occurs in a grant of land near Mackney and Wallingford dated 957; see Birch, C.S. iii. 184. The nom. is Maccan-īg. The prefix Maccan is the gen. case of the personal name Macca. The sense is 'Macca's isle'.

Pusey. It lies between streams that unite and flow into the Ock, just above Charney. Spelt *Pusey*, Ipm., p. 159; *Pesy*, H.R.; *Pesey*, T.N.; *Pusie*, Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 5 (1066–87);

Pesie, id. ii. 121 (1100–35). D.B. has *Pesei in Gamesfelle hundred*; p. 14. It is the same name as Pewsey in Wilts.; the latter appears as *Pevesey in Wiltes.*, P.R. Both forms result from contraction. The dat. case Pefesīgge occurs in King Ælfred's will; see Birch, C.S. ii. 178, line 1. In the same, ii. 469, the boundaries are given of land æt Peuesīge; where *u* has the sound of *v*. Spelt Pevesy in the same, ii. 187, and Pefesy (with *f* for *v*), ii. 182. The A.S. nom. is Pefes-īg, where *f* has the sound of *v*; and Pefes is the genitive of a strong masculine form *Pefi, of which we have no other record. The sense, accordingly, is 'Pefi's isle'. (The *e* is short.) The name Pef-i (from an older *Pabi) can fairly be concluded from the fact that its derivative *Pab-jon- would give the form Pebba (since *bj* becomes *bb* in A.S.). Pebba is implied in *Pebbe-worthe* (Ipm.), the Middle English form of Pebworth, Glouc.; and Pavenham, Beds., probably represents 'Paba's home'.

Tubney. It lies to the NW. of Marcham, beside an affluent of the river Ock. Spelt *Tobbeney*, F.A. (1316); *Tubbeney*, T.N. The later form *Tubney* occurs in V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). D.B. has *Tobenie*; p. 6. The same prefix occurs in the A.S. Tubban-ford, which was in the same neighbourhood; see Birch, C.S. ii. 514. Tubban is here the gen. of Tubba; and the latter place-name means 'Tubba's ford', just as Tubney means 'Tubba's isle'. No doubt the same Tubba is commemorated in both names.

Field.

Field, from the A.S. *feld,* often signified a tract of open country. It occurs in Arborfield, Binfield, Bradfield, Burghfield, Englefield, Fyfield, Ganfield, Shinfield, Straffield, Swallowfield, Warfield, Watchfield, Winkfield, and Wokefield.

Arborfield. This name is comparatively modern, and hardly older than the 15th century. It is spelt *Arburfeld* in V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). The prefix is the M.E. *erber* or *herber,* from the Anglo-French *herber,* Old French *herbier,* Lat. *herbārium,* a herb-garden; at first applied to a garden-lawn, and afterwards transformed (after many changes in sense and some in form) into the modern E. *arbour.* See the full account in the N.E.D., s.v. *arbour.*

Binfield. Spelt *Bynfeld,* V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). Earlier *Benefeld,* F.A. (1316), Ab.; *Benefeud* (with *ud* for *ld*), Ipm. p. 72, which is correctly described as being not far from Windsor Forest; *Benetfeld,* Ipm. p. 46, and Ipm. vol. 2; *Bentfeld,* Ipm. vol. 2. Thus Binfield, formerly Benfeld, is short for Bentfeld, and that again for Benetfeld. The prefix is the A.S. *beonet,* noted in the A.S. Dict. by Clark Hall, the same word as the prov. E. *bennet, bent,* a kind of coarse grass; see E.D.D. and *bent,* sb. (1) in the N.E.D. The sense is 'field containing bent-grass'.

Bradfield. Spelt *Bradefeld,* H.R.; R.B.; *Bradfeld,* V.E. D.B. has *Bradefelt*; p. 10. The A.S. form appears in a Latin charter (A.D. 688–690) as Bradanfelda; Birch, C.S. i. 108. Here *Bradan*

is the weak dative of A.S. *brād*, broad; and the sense is 'broad field'. The dative of the A.S. *feld* is not *felde*, but *felda* (as above).

Burghfield. To the SW. of Reading. Spelt *Burfeld*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). Earlier, *Burgfeld*, *Burghfield*, Ipm.; *Burghefelde*, F.A. (1316). D.B. has *Borgefel*; p. 14. The prefix represents the A.S. *burh*, a borough; and the literal sense is 'borough-field'. It may be remarked here that *burh* was also used to denote 'a small fort'; which suits better.

Englefield. Spelt *Englefeld*, H.R. D.B. has *Englefel*, p. 10; and, on the same page, *Inglefelle in Radinges hundred*, i. e. in the hundred of Reading. It appears as Engla feld in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 871; which means 'field of the Angles'. Engla is the gen. pl.; and occurs again in Engla land, 'the land of the Angles,' i. e. 'England'.

Fyfield. Near Marcham; to the W. of Abingdon. Called *Fifeld* in V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). But in the preceding century it was certainly called *Fifhide*, as Lysons says. Spelt *Fifhide* in the Index to Charters (1437); and so in R.B. D.B. has *Fivehide in Merceham hundred*; p. 10. In an A.S. charter dated 956 there is an allusion to it in the expression *to fīf hīdum*, meaning 'to five hides'; *hide* being here a measure of land; Birch, C.S. iii. 168. Thus the original sense was 'five hides'; afterwards altered to 'five fields', or (in one word) 'five-field'. Taylor remarks that 'Fifield, Essex, is Fif-hide in Domesday'.

GANFIELD. This is the name of one of the Berks. hundreds, situate between the Thames and the Ock, and containing, for example, Pusey. D.B. has *Pesei* [Pusey] *in Gamesfelle hundred*, p. 14; and again, at p. 7, *in Gamenesfelle hundred*. Thus it appears that *Gan-* is an abbreviated form of *Games*, *Gamenes*; and the Hundred Rolls have *Gamenes-feld*. The A.S. *Gamen* (gen. *gamenes*) means 'a game' or 'sport'; but it is hardly conceivable that *gamenes feld* could have been a correct expression, any more than we should now speak of a cart's horse. The A.S. expression for 'playfield' would rather have been *gamen-feld*. The use of the genitive in *-es* implies the use of a man's name; and, as *Gamenes-feld* is a form later than the Conquest, it is tolerably certain that it was a perversion of Gameles feld, i. e. 'field of Gamel'. Gamel (also Gamal) is a well-established name, of which there are at least six instances; and it seems to have entered freely into place-names. Ipm. (vol. i) has the forms Gamelesby, Gamelston (now Gamston), Gamelsthorp, Gamilswath; cf. Gamblesby (from Gamelesby) in Cumberland, and Gamelingay in Cambs. The last means 'isle of the Gamelings, or of the sons of Gamel'. *Gamel*, or *gamal*, or *gamol* was, in quite early times, a perfectly common word, meaning simply 'old'; and though it perished in England at an early date, it is still as common in Scandinavia as the word *old* is in England. In fact, the Scandinavians have no use for the word *old* at all; in Denmark everything old is *gammel*, and in Sweden it is *gammal*. The sense 'field of Gamel' is per-

fectly intelligible. It cannot mean 'field of play'. A similar substitution of *n* for *l* in an unstressed syllable occurs again in the case of WATCHFIELD, p. 43. And after all, the A.S. *gamel* still survives as a proper name, in the forms Gammel and Gamble.

SHINFIELD. To the S. of Reading. Formerly trisyllabic. Spelt *Schynnyng feld*, V.E.; *Shenyng feld*, Ab.; *Shenyng felde*, F.A. (1316); H.R.; *Senefeld*, R.B.; *Shynyng feld*, Index; *Schunnyng feld*, Ipm. D.B. has *Scanesfelt*; p. 3 (which may refer to Shinfield, but is clearly incorrect). The prefix is the same as that which appears in the old forms of Shingay (Cambs.); formerly *Shēning-ay*, as explained in my Place-names of Cambs. The A.S. form of it would be Scīeninga (Scēninga, Scȳninga), gen. pl., meaning 'of the Scīenings or sons of Scīene'. And the sense of Shinfield must have been 'field of the Scīenings'. The A.S. Scīene is not recorded as a personal name by itself, but it forms part of the name Scēn-wulf, which occurs in the Liber Vitae of Durham. As an adj., the A.S. *scīene* (more frequently *scēne*, *scȳne*), meaning 'fair, beautiful', being the exact equivalent of the Ger. *schön*, is extremely common. The variable vowel shows that the above solution is correct. The forms with *Shening-* are due to *scēne*; and the forms with *Shynyng-*, *Schun(n)yng-*, are due to *scȳne*.

STRAFFIELD, or STRATFIELD MORTIMER. Straffield is merely an assimilated form of Stradfield or Stratfield. Called *Stratfeld Mortymar*, V.E.; *Stratfeld Mortimer*, Ipm.; H.R. D.B. has *Stradfeld in Redinges hundred*, i. e. in Reading hundred;

p. 14. The corresponding A.S. form is *strǽt-feld*, and the sense is 'street-field'; or field near an old high-way (often of Roman construction). The Mortimers were a Norman family who owned much land in various counties. The entry Edmundus de Mortuo Mari (in Ipm.) shows that Mortimer once meant the Dead Sea.

Swallowfield. The sense is obvious. Spelt *Swalfeld*, H.R.; *Swalefeld*, T.N.; *Swaleewefeld*, R.B.; *Solafel*, D.B., p. 16. From the Mercian *swalwe*, A.S. *swealwe*, a swallow.

Warfield. Spelt *Warfeld*, R.C.; Ipm.; *Warefelde*, F.A. (1316); *Warwelt*, D.B., p. 3. I take the prefix to represent the A.S. *wær*, an occasional spelling of *wer*, whence modern E. *weir*. The usual sense of A.S. *wer* was 'a fishing-pool', as explained in my Place-names of Cambs., s.v. Upware. The sense was probably 'field beside a pool'. (The mod. E. *war* is from the Norman *werre*.)

Watchfield. Near Shrivenham. The form has been shortened. Spelt *Wachenesfeld*, T.N.; D.B., p. 7. The A.S. forms require care. *Wachenesfeld* answers to A.S. Wacenesfeld, Birch, C.S., i. 224; spelt Uuacenesfeld, id. i. 506. But neither of these copies is of much authority. A far better copy is printed in the same, ii. 360. Here the boundaries of Watchfield are given, headed 'Mete de Wachenesfeld', which I take to be a later addition, on account of the use of *ch*; and Birch prints it in italics. The same spelling occurs in the headline, which I suppose to repre-

sent a late endorsement. But in l. 3 of the charter itself (dated 931) we find the true old spelling, viz. Wæclesfeld, which makes far better sense. Wæcles, variant of Wacles, is a correct form of the gen. case of the A.S. *wacol*, 'wakeful, vigilant,' here used as a proper name. Hence the sense is 'Wacol's field'. (It may be remarked that this is the only example hitherto noted of the use of *wacol* as a personal name, but the equivalent form *wacor*, with the same sense, has been noted as so occurring twice, with the spelling Wacer.) It is clear that the old form Wæclesfeld was altered to Waeenesfeld by the confusion of the old adj. *wacol* with the abstract sb. *wacen*, meaning 'vigilance' or 'keeping watch', which was not really adapted for use in place-names that deal with the concrete. And further, as the sense of *wacen* was connected with the idea of *watching*, the modern name Watchfield easily resulted. The case of Wakefield is different, because the wakes held in fields had no such abstract sense, but were very substantial. Cf. p. 41, l. 2.

Winkfield. Spelt *Winkfield*, P.R.; *Winckefeld*, T.E.; *Wynekefeld*, T.E.; *Wynekfeld*, F.A. (1316). The A.S. form Winecan-felda (dative) occurs in Birch, C.S. ii. 515, in a charter dated 942. The sense is 'Wineca's field'. Wineca seems to be a diminutive of the common personal name Wine, of which the literal sense is 'friend'.

Wokefield. In Stratfield Mortimer (Kelly). *Wokefield*, Berks., is mentioned in Ab., and in the Index to Charters (1424). The prefix Woke- is

due to the Wocc- seen in the tribal name of the Wocc-ingas, whence the place-name Woking is derived. The gen. case Wocc-es occurs in Wocces-geat, for which see Birch, ii. 242, l. 5. We must either explain Wokefield as being from this strong form Wocc (which should rather have given Wokes-field), or from an allied weak form *Wocca (gen. Woccan) of which we have no other record.

Ford.

The suffix *-ford* has its usual meaning. There are several names with this ending, viz.: Appleford, Boxford, Denford, Duxford, Frilford, Garford, Hatford, Hungerford, Lyford, Moulsford, Sandford, Sandleford, Shefford, Shellingford, Stanford, Twyford, Wallingford, Welford.

Appleford. D.B. has *Apleford*; p. 7. The A.S. form is Æppelford; in Birch, C.S. ii. 224. From A.S. *æppel*, an apple. The sense is 'apple-tree ford'. Cf. Boxford and Welford.

Boxford. On the river Lambourn, to the NW. of Speen. Apparently the same place as Boxworth in V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). But the older name was Boxore; see Lysons, Hist. of Berks, p. 245. Spelt *Boxhore* (with intrusive *h*), Ipm. p. 4. D.B. has *Boxsore*; p. 6. Spelt Boxōra in Birch, C.S. i. 506; iii. 221; which gives the A.S. spelling. The A.S. *box* means 'box-tree'; and Boxford means 'box-tree ford'. Cf. Appleford above, and Welford. The A.S. *ōra* means 'river-bank' or shore; cf. Bagn-or, &c., p. 81. From the oblique

case *box-ōran* we may explain the form Bochesorne in D.B.; p. 15.

Denford. Situate in Avington, near the N. bank of the river Kennet. Spelt *Deneford*, Ipm.; but with reference to Denford in N'hants. Also *Deneford*, R.C.; apparently with reference to Denford in Berks. D.B. has *Daneford*, p. 11. In Wulfgar's will, printed in Birch, ii. 366-7, we find the dative Denforda (various reading Dænforda) with reference to Denford, probably in Berks.; it is connected with Inkpen and with Cynetan-byrig (Kintbury). The form Dæn- suggests a derivation from the A.S. *dæn*, variant of *dænn*, *denn*, a den, lair, cave, also a woodland pasture for swine; a word closely related to *denu*, a valley. In the last sense it occurs in many local names; see Birch, iii. 490: 'this dæn is genamod Hyringdænn'; and the references in Toller's Supplement to Bosworth's A.S. Dict., pp. 148, 149. The later forms *Deneford*, *Daneford* may have been influenced by the A.S. *denu*, a valley, or by *Dene*, pl. Danes. Some have derived Denford from *Dene*, 'Danes', to suit certain theories, but Mr. Stevenson points out that *denu*, a valley, is quite as likely; see his note to Asser's Life of Alfred, p. 275. But the right source is the A.S. dæn. The sense is 'ford near the swine-pasture'.

Duxford. Situate by the Thames, near Hinton Waldrist. Spelt *Dudochesforde* in D.B., which notes that it is in *Gamefel* (Ganfield) hundred. This evidently answers to the A.S. form Duducesford. The strange personal name Duduc occurs

at least ten times (Searle). The original sense was 'Duduc's ford'.

Frilford. Near Marcham, on an affluent of the Ock. Spelt *Frileford,* Ipm.; *Frylesford,* F.A.; later *Eryleford,* F.A. (1428). Spelt *Erileford* in Birch, C.S. iii. 428, no. 1170; but the copy seems to be late. The spelling *Fryles-ford* suggests that the prefix is the same as in Frils-ham. If so, Frilford is a contraction of 'Frithel's (or Frithuwulf's) ford'. Violent contractions of this character are common in place-names. See Frilsham, p. 56.

Garford. Situate near Marcham, beside the river Ock. Spelt *Gareford,* T.N.; T.E. The A.S. form is Garan-forda (dative) in a grant of land at Garford to the thegn Wulfric, dated 940. The sense appears to be Gara's ford. The former *a* was probably once long (Gāra), since Gār- is a common prefix in such names as Gār-beorht, Gār-beald (Searle). It was shortened before the consonantal combination *rf*; or it would now be Goreford. The A.S. *gāra* also means a 'gore', or triangular piece of land; see E.D.D.

Hatford. To the N. of Stanford, which is in the Vale of the White Horse, and situate beside a small stream that flows into the river Ock. Originally trisyllabic. Spelt *Hatford,* V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); but *Havedford* in T.N.; and *Hautford* in the Index to the Charters (1420). D.B. has *Hevaford in Merceham* (Marcham) *hundred*; p. 13. Here *Heva* is evidently an error for *Hevad,* as the dental is still preserved. The forms *haved,*

hevad point clearly to the A.S. *hēafod*, 'head', found in M.E. as *hæved, hæfd, heved*, &c. The sense appears to be 'head-ford'; or 'ford near the head of the stream'.

Hungerford. Situate on the S. bank of the river Kennet. Spelt *Hungerford*, Ipm.; P.R.; R.C.; *Hungreford*, R.T.; *Hungerforde*, R.B. But it is improbable that the prefix should be the modern E. *hunger*. A simpler solution is suggested by the fact that the older name of *Hungerhill*, near Nottingham, was *Hongerhill*; see Records of Nottingham, ed. W. H. Stevenson, vol. i. pp. 374, 434. Mr. Stevenson well derives *Honger* from the A.S. *hongra*, variant of *hangra*, whence prov. E. *hanger*, a hanging wood on a hill-side; see E.D.D. See also the examples *higran hongran* and *cylf hongran* in Birch, C.S. ii. 206; and *sadol hongran* in the same, iii. 589. If this be right, the sense is 'ford near the hanging wood'. Cf. Appleford, Welford.

Lyford. Situate beside the Ock, between Stanford and Garford. Spelt *Lyford*, Ipm. p. 203; *Liford*, H.R. But an older form was certainly Linford; so that *n* has been lost. This is clearly shown by the account of the boundaries of land at Garford printed in Birch, C.S. ii. 489; where we read that the boundary runs thus: 'Of Garan-forda and-lang Eoccen oth thæt thær Cilla suth ut scyt; thonne up and-lang Cilla rithe oth Linfordinga gemære'; i.e. from Garford along the Ock until the stream from Childreth goes out southward; then along the Childreth-stream as far as the

boundary of the Linfordings, or dwellers in Linford. It is obvious that this Linford can only be Lyford. Again, in Birch, C.S. ii. 552, Linford is described as lying between the Ock and the stream from Childreth. This must of course be Lyford. Yet again, in the Abingdon Chronicle, ii. 192, Linford is mentioned in connexion with Tubney. But we must go yet a step further; for it is unlikely that even Linford is the original form, as it would mean 'flax ford'; whereas fords are generally referred to more permanent objects. The riddle is not difficult; for Linford in Bucks., near Newport Pagnell, is referred to in Ipm. p. 30 as 'Lindford maner in Neuporte fee, Bucks.' The right form is obviously Lindford; cf. 'on *lind-ford*' in Birch, iii. 288, in the boundaries of Ringwood, Hants. This *lind* is the A.S. form of what is now called the *lime-tree*, by an extraordinary corruption of the Shakespearian form *line* (as in *line-grove*, Tempest, A. v. l. 10, in the First Folio). The fact that the A.S. form *lind* actually dropped the *d* and lengthened the *i*, helps us to see that Lyford is nothing but 'line-ford', or 'ford near the lime-tree.' Cf. Appleford, Welford.

Moulsford. On the Thames, to the S. of Wallingford. Spelt *Mullesford*, Ipm. The prefix is the same as in Moulsey (Surrey); A.S. *Mūles-ēg* (in Kemble's Index). From the A.S. Mūles, gen. of Mūl, a known personal name. The A.S. *mūl* (from Lat. *mūlus*) also means 'mule'; it became *moul* in Middle English, and so occurs in the Cursor Mundi, l. 6001. But it is now ob-

solete, having been superseded by the O.F. *mul* (from Lat. *mūlum*, acc.), which is now written *mule*. Hence Moulsford means 'Mūl's ford' or 'Mule's ford'; taking Mule to represent the personal name.

Sandford. Near Besilsleigh. The derivation is obvious; from *sand* and *ford*. The dat. Sandforda occurs in Birch, C.S. i. 490; and there is an interesting allusion to the Sandfordinga gemære, i.e. the boundary of the Sandfordings or dwellers in Sandford in the same, ii. 374.

Sandleford. There is a Sandleford Priory on the N. side of the river Emborne (or Enborne) which forms a part of the S. boundary of the county. It is spelt *Sandelford* in H.R.; R.C.; T.E.; V.E. In P.R. the expression 'pro priore de Sandlesford' occurs thrice, and furnishes a clue, as it shows that *Sandles* here represents the gen. case of a personal name. There is only *one* name on record that will fit, viz. Sandwulf, or (in a shorter form) Sandolf. Sandles clearly stands for Sandols, and that for Sandolves, a late form of the gen. of Sandolf. There are many examples in which *wulf*, as the second element in a name, is so attenuated as to be absolutely unrecognisable. The present case is not stranger than that of the A.S. Eadwulfes treow,[1] which is an old form of Elstree in Herts. Here *wulfes* is reduced to *ls*, whereas, in the case of Sandleford, it is reduced

[1] Even Eadwulfes seems to have arisen from Tidwulfes; by changing æt Tidwulfes to æt Eadwulfes.

to *le*. But *Sand-* is much better preserved than *Ead-*, reduced as it is to *E*.

Shefford. On the river Lambourne. There is a Great or West Shefford, and a Little or East Shefford. Spelt *Shifford Magna and Parva*, V.E.; *Sipford*, Cl.R.; *Sipford* (*hundred de Egle*), T.N.; *Westsipford*, T.N.; *West Shefford*, F.A. (1316). D.B. has *Siford* (*in Eglei hundred*); p. 13. The same name as Shifford in Oxon., A.S. Scȳpford, i.e. 'sheep-ford'; see Kemble, C.D., iii. 343. Cf. prov. E. *ship*, a sheep; and the numerous Shiptons.

Shellingford. On a stream that flows into the river Ock from the north. Spelt *Shillingford*, P.R.; *Schalingeford*, T.N.; T.E.; *Sillingford*, Ipm.; *Shallingford*, F.A. (1316); *Shalingford*, V.E. (The original vowel in the first syllable was *a*.) D.B. has *Serengeford*; p. 8 (for *Sherengeford*). An older form, *Saringeford* (for *Sharingeford*), occurs in the Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 196. The A.S. form is Scaringa-ford; see Birch, C.S. ii. 373, l. 3, and 374. At p. 372, we find the curious Norman form *Xalingeford*, with *X* for *Sh*. We thus see that *Shell-* has resulted from A.S. *Scar-*. In connexion with Scaringa, we may notice the form Scaren-dene, in a Kentish charter; see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 81, which suggests a proper name Scara, not otherwise known. The original sense of Shellingford was certainly 'ford of the Scarings', since Scaringa represents a gen. pl. And it is further probable that the Scarings were 'sons of Scara' or 'the tribe or family of Scara'.

Stanford. There is a Stanford-in-the-Vale,

i.e. in the Vale of the White Horse, and a Stanford Dingley near Midgham. The church of the latter contains a brass dated 1444, in memory of Margaret, wife of William Dyneley, esquire to Henry VI, which is supposed to explain Dingley (Kelly). Spelt *Stanford* in D.B.; p. 10. There are many Stanfords; all from the A.S. *stān-ford*, i.e. 'stone ford'.

Twyford. On the Loddon, not very far from the point where it enters the Thames. There is here a double ford over the divided Loddon; and, as in the case of Twyford, Herts., the name represents the A.S. *twīford*, 'double ford.' This name-form is noticed in Beda, Eccl. Hist. bk. iv. c. 28 (or 26): 'in loco qui dicitur *ad tuifyrdi*, quod significat *ad duplex uadum*.'

Wallingford. On the Thames. The double *l* is modern. Spelt *Walingford*, Robert of Gloucester; H.R.; *Walingeford*, R.B.; D.B., p. 1; T.E. The A.S. forms are *Welinga-ford*, in Birch, C.S. ii. 206, 568; and *Wealinga-ford*, in the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 1006; *Walinge-ford* in the same, 1126; and *Waling-ford* in the same, under 1140. The sense is 'ford of the Wealings'; where Wealing is related to the A.S. *wealh*, lit. 'foreigner', but also used as a personal name. We may further explain it as 'ford of the sons of Wealh'. It need hardly be said that Wallingford is *not* derived from the 'British *Gualhen-ford*, or old fort by the ford'. This is a pure invention, as *ford* is an English word; the Welsh being *rhyd*.

Welford. On the Lambourn. Spelt *Welford*,

V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); *Welleford*, R.B. The A.S. form (in a late copy) is Weliford; Birch, C.S. i. 506; but we find the true form æt Weligforda, in the same, iii. 29, in a charter dated 949. (It is a peculiarity of *ford* that, like *feld*, it has a dative in *a*; such sbs. are few in number.) From the A.S. *welig*, a willow. The sense is 'willow ford'. Cf. Appleford, Boxford, Lyford; also Ashford (Kent), and Salford (Beds.). The last is named from the A.S. *salig*, a sally-tree, or willow-tree.

Grave.

The suffix *-grave* represents the A.S. *græfe*, dat. of *graf*, or *græf*, 'a trench,' sometimes 'a grave'. It occurs in Wargrave.

Wargrave. On the Thames. Spelt *Wergrave*, R.B.; R.C.; *Weregrave*, F.A. (1316); *Weregrauæ*, Index to Charters (1061–5). Wargrave is also the name of a hundred; called *Weregrave hundred*, H.R. D.B. has *Weregrave*; p. 3. The prefix *were-* represents the A.S. *wera*, gen. pl. of *wer*, a man. Cf. Wera-horna in Birch, C.S. i. 552. The sense is 'men's trench', or 'men's grave'. The exact allusion is necessarily lost.

Hale.

The suffix *-hale* is explained in the N.E.D. as meaning 'a nook, a corner, a secret place'. It is due to the Mercian *hale*, dat. of *halh*; A.S. *heale*, dat. of *healh*. The A.S. *healh* answers to the modern E. *haugh*, a nook, corner; so that, grammatically, the form *hale* is the dative of

haugh, which was especially used to mean 'a flat piece of alluvial land by the side of a river, forming part of the floor of the river valley'; N.E.D. It occurs in Bracknell. (It is not related to Icel. *hallr*, as Taylor says.)

Bracknell. To the E. of Wokingham, and SW. of Winkfield. It evidently corresponds to the A.S. Braccan heal (*for* healh) mentioned in a charter relating to Winkfield, dated 942; see Birch, C.S. ii. 516, l. 4. The dat. Braccan heale occurs in the next line. (There is no personal name Bracca on record.) Braccan may well answer to the modern E. *bracken*, a kind of fern. Note that many place-names begin with Farn-, i. e. fern; such as Farnham, Farnborough; and see Faringdon, p. 32. The A.S. Dictionaries give neither 'bracken' nor 'brake'; but the former answers to *braccan* (as above), which is the combining form of a sb. **bracca* or **bracce* (pl. *braccan*); and the latter occurs in *fearn-braca*, lit. 'fern-brakes', in Birch, C.S. ii. 295, last line. The sense of Bracknell is, accordingly, 'bracken-haugh' or 'bracken-nook'.

Ham.

There are *two* suffixes of this form. One of them answers to the A.S. *hām*, 'home,' and the other to the A.S. *hamm*, 'enclosure,' whence the modern E. verb *to hem in*. It is not always possible to say to which class a given example belongs; but sometimes the evidence is clear. The names containing this suffix, from either source, or from

an undetermined source, are here all taken together, viz. Barkham, Beenham or Benham, Bisham, Cookham, Crookham, Frilsham, Marcham, Midgham, Remenham, Shrivenham, Sulham, Thatcham, Waltham, Wickham, Wittenham, Wokingham, and Wytham.

Barkham. To the SW. of Wokingham. Spelt *Barkam*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); *Berkham*, F.A. (1316); *Bercham*, H.R.; D.B. has *Bercheham*; p. 3. The A.S. form is Beorcham, in Birch, C.S. iii. 55; where its boundaries are duly given in a charter dated 952. The prefix Beorc means 'birch'; and the suffix most likely represents *hām*, 'home.' The sense is 'birch-home', or home near a birch-tree.

It may be remarked that the change from A.S. *beorc* to Bark- is regular; the mod. E. *birch* is not derived from *beorc*, but from a by-form *birce*. Hence there is here no violation of phonetic laws.

Beenham (or Benham) Valence. Benham is the preferable form; Beenham is a curious contraction of Be(nn)enham, which ignores the *nn*. Spelt *Benham*, R.C.; R.B.; H.R.; T.E.; F.A. (1316); *Benham Valence*, Ipm. p. 214. In Ipm. p. 312, we find *Benham manerium* among the lands held by Adomarus de Valencia (Aymer de Valence), Comes Pembroc.; which explains the connexion with Valence. D.B. has *Bencham*; p. 6. Also spelt *Benneham*, D.B., p. 16; *Binneham*, T.N. The A.S. form is Bennanham, Birch, C.S. iii. 274; or Bennanhamm, as shown by the expression 'æt Bennanhamme', id. iii. 120 (A.D. 956). Bennan is the gen.

of the personal name Benna, and *hamm* is here 'an enclosure'. The sense is 'Benna's enclosure'. There is another Benham in the parish of Welford, called Hoe Benham. Here Hoe represents the A.S. *hōh*, 'the spur of a hill.'

Bisham. On the Thames. Formerly Bisteham and Bustleham (Lysons). Spelt *Bustleham*, H.R.; T.N.; *Bustlesham*, Ab.; V.E.; F.A. (1316); *Bestlesham*, R. T.; *Bistlesham*, R.C. (1 John); Cl.R. D.B. has *Bistesham in Benes hundred*; p. 10. The A.S. form does not appear, but we have the same prefix in Bestles-ford, near Bradfield (on the Pang), Birch, i. 108, 145, 147, ii. 206. At the last reference it is also spelt Bæstlæsford. Bæstles is the gen. of the personal name Bæstel; and the suffix probably means 'home'. So that Bisham is 'Bæstel's home'. The same prefix occurs in Basilden, p. 28.

Cookham. On the Thames above Maidenhead. Cookham is also the name of a hundred. Spelt *Coka*m, R.B.; *Cokham hundred*, H.R.; *Cocham*, Ipm. p. 29; *Cucham*, Ipm. p. 22. D.B. has *Cocheham in Benes hundred*; p. 2; where *che* is for *ke*. In Ælfheah's will, we find æt Coccham and æt Thæcham, before A. D. 971; see Birch, C.S. iii. 432. Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 315, has to Cocham. The spelling Cucham and the modern form seem to point to the A.S. *cōc*, 'a cook'; as if the sense were 'cook-home'. But the older sense was 'cock-home'; from the A.S. *cocc*.

Crookham. Near Brimpton, as shown in Bacon's Atlas. It is worth notice, as the name is old and

curious. Spelt *Crokham*, R.B.; T.N. D.B. has *Crocheham*; p. 2 (with *ch* for *k*). In the boundaries of Brimpton, as given by Birch, C.S. ii. 559, we find 'to Croh-hamme', showing that the suffix is *hamm*, an enclosure. The A.S. *croh* is merely an English form of the Lat. *crocus*, with the sense of 'saffron'. The sense is 'saffron-enclosure'.

Frilsham. On the river Pang. Spelt *Fridlesham*, F.A. (1316); H.R.; *Fridelesham*, Pipe Rolls; T.N.; Ipm.; *Frydelysham*, F.A. (1428); *Frydelsham*; Index (1410). D.B. has *Frilesham*; p. 9. The prefix is possibly **Fritheles*, gen. of **Frithel*, if there was such a name. Such a form seems to be suggested by Frithelestok, Ipm.; Frithelinga dīc, Birch, C.S. ii. 260; Frithela byrig, id. iii. 201. But if, on the other hand, the name (as often) has been much abbreviated, it may stand for Fritholfes, gen. of Fritholf, a name which occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 369, and is a familiar form of Frithuwulf. Thus the sense is either 'Frithel's home' or 'Frithuwulf's home'. There is no evidence to show which is right. See Frilford, p. 46.

Marcham. Near Abingdon. It was formerly also the name of a hundred, as in D.B. Formerly written *M'cham* (*Mercham*), T.E. D.B. has *Merceham*; p. 6. The boundaries of Marcham are given in Birch, C.S. iii. 427, where we find the dat. Merchamme, showing that the suffix is *hamm*, an enclosure. The prefix is *merc, mearc*, 'a march' or boundary; and the sense is 'boundary-enclosure'. The river Ock bounds the parish on the south.

Midgham. On the Kennet; not far from Brimpton (see p. 93). Spelt *Migham*, F.A. (1316); *Migeham*, T.N. D.B. has *Migeham in Taccham* [Thatcham] *hundred*; p. 12. It is either the same as Midghale, or close to it. We find *Migehala*, *Migehale*, R.B.; *Migehala in Bernintun* [Brimpton], Pipe Rolls. In Kemble we find Micghǣma gemǣra; Cod. Dipl. iii. 193, 196; which shows that the suffix is *-hām*, not *-hamm*, because -hǣma can only result from the former. The prefix *micg* is a late spelling of A.S. *mycg*, a midge. The sense is 'midge home'. It must be borne in mind that many place-names are of trivial origin.

Remenham. On the Thames, below Henley. Spelt *Remenham*, F.A. (1316); *Remnam*, V.E.; *Remeham*, T.N. But also *Ramenham* (1321), Index; *Rammenham*, Ipm.; and D.B. has *Rameham*; p. 3. The variation between *e* and *a* in the first syllable suggests that the A.S. vowel is *æ*; and I have little hesitation in connecting the prefix with the A.S. *hræmn*, *hremn*, both common late spellings of *hræfn*, a raven. The second *e* is intrusive; cf. the spelling *Remnam* above. In such cases, the suffix commonly means 'home' or 'dwelling'. The sense appears to be 'raven home'. Cf. Midgham (above). We may also compare the form *Remnesdūn*, in Birch, C.S. iii. 363; i. e. 'Raven's down', where Raven is used as a personal name.

Shrivenham. Near the western boundary of the county. Spelt *Shrivenham*, F.A. (1316); *Scriveham*, R.B.; *Scrivenham hundred*, H.R.; *Scriven-*

ham (for *Shrivenham*), D.B., p. 7 (noted as being in a hundred of the same name). A charter in late spelling has *Scriuenham*, Birch, C.S. i. 506; where a variant in earlier spelling is given in a footnote as *Scrivenanhom*, showing that the form has lost a syllable. The full A.S. form is Scrifenan-hamm, which appears in the dat. case in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 131. As Scrifena is not a sb. in common use, it must be a name. The sense is 'Scrifena's enclosure'.

Sulham. To the W. of Reading. Spelt *Suleham*, H.R.; Ipm. In the Chronicle of Abingdon I find the name of W. de Suleham; and in the Red Book, Rob. de Suleham. But there is also a form *Soleham*, R.C.; T.E.; Ipm.; D.B., p. 12; which seems to refer to the same place; and in D.B., p. 11, we find *Soleha* (*sic*) *in Redinges hundred*, which must be Sulham. Another form is *Soulham*; Ipm., p. 203. The phonology offers great difficulty, as it seems impossible to connect Sulham with Sulhampstead, which is not many miles off; for the alternative spelling of the latter is Sylhampstead. The first vowel seems to be short *u*, for which Norman scribes sometimes write *o*. In the form Soulham, it seems to have been lengthened, perhaps by mistake. I can find nothing to suit it unless it be the prefix Sulan-, which occurs in Sulangraf in a list of boundaries in Birch, C.S. ii. 384, l. 21. The charter there printed is in late spelling. Cf. also Sulan-ford and Sulan-brōc; id. iii. 589. If this be correct, and if we may take Sulan to be the gen. of an unrecorded personal

name Sula, the sense will be 'Sula's home'. But I only offer this as a guess.

THATCHAM. Formerly also the name of a hundred, as in D.B. Spelt *Thachame*, T.E.; *Taccham*, R.T.; *Tacham*, T.N. D.B. has *Taccham hundred*, p. 2, and *Taceham hundred*, p. 8. Norman scribes often write *T* for *Th*, especially at the beginning of a name. The A.S. form is Thæc-ham, Birch, C.S. iii. 432. As the A.S. *thæc* (lit. thatch) means 'roof', the reference seems to be to a house. The probable sense is 'roofed home', or 'thatched house'.

WALTHAM. There are two places of this name, to the SW. of Bray, viz. White Waltham and St. Lawrence Waltham. The same name as the better known Waltham in Herts., already discussed by me in the Place-names of Herts. The spelling is *Waltham* in H.R.; and we find *Waltham Sancti Laurentii* in F.A. (1316). D.B. has *Waltham*, p. 8. The A.S. form is Wealtham; Birch, C.S. ii. 490 (in a charter supposed to refer to White Waltham, dated A.D. 940); and again, in the same, iii. 167, with regard to a Waltham in Hants. In a still earlier charter, dated 909, we find the form Wealthǣminga, gen. pl.; Birch, C.S. ii. 285; where the suffix implies derivation from *hām*, 'home,' not *hamm*, 'enclosure.'

In my Place-names of Herts. I proposed an etymology from *Wealtanhām, as if 'home of Wealta', a name not otherwise known. But the absence of the suffix *-an* in charters so early as 909 and 940 suggests that we may regard Wealt-hām as the right form. If we take *hām* to mean 'home'

or 'house', *wealt* must be inferred (from the adj. *un-wealt*, 'steady,' or 'firm') to mean 'unsteady', or 'infirm', i.e. ill-built, shattered, or decayed. Cf. Icel. *valtr*, 'easily upset.' If we take the compound to mean 'decayed house', it is probable enough that it is correct. A common error is to explain Wealt- from *weald*, a wood!

Wickham. Near Welford; the latter is on the Lambourn. Spelt *Wicham*, R.B.; H.R. The A.S. form is Wicham, in Birch, C.S. i. 506, where it is mentioned along with several places in Berks. There are several Wickhams, including one in Cambs. and one in Herts. In my Place-names of Cambs. and Herts. I have explained the name from A.S. *wīc* (from Lat. *vīcus*), 'a village,' and *hām*, 'home,' relying on the form Wichāma. But I now find that there is also a form Wichamm, where *hamm* means 'enclosure'. The evidence shows that Wickham, Cambs., means 'village-enclosure'; whilst Wickham, Hants., means 'village-home'. The sense of the Berks. Wickham is left undetermined.

Wittenham. On the Thames, between Abingdon and Wallingford. There is a Long Wittenham and a Little Wittenham; the former is sometimes called West Wittenham. Spelt *West Wytenham*, H.R. V.E. (temp. Henry VIII) has *Whittenham Comitis* and *Wittenham Abbatis*; Ipm. has *Wytenham*. The A.S. form Wittanhamme occurs in the dative in Birch, C.S. ii. 224, in the boundaries of Appleford. Hence the suffix is *-hamm*, 'enclosure.' The prefix is Wittan, gen. of Witta,

a personal name of which there are half a dozen examples. The sense is 'Witta's enclosure'. N.B. Mr. Zachrisson connects the spelling *Witreham* in the Calendar of Documents preserved in France, ed. J. H. Round (Rolls Series), with Wytham; but this is not possible, as will be seen by referring to the etymology of that place-name just below. *Witreham* is only a Norman spelling of the M.E. *Witenham*; and therefore really represents Wittenham.

Wokingham. Also called Oakingham or Ockingham (Kelly). Spelt *Wokingham*, F.A.; Cl.R.; *Wokingeham*, T.N.; Cl.R., vol. 2; *Okyngham*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); *Okingham*, 1568, Index. The loss of *W* is rather late. The prefix Wokinge- represents the A.S. gen. pl. Woccinga, from the nom. pl. Woccingas, or 'sons of Wocc', to whom is due the name of Woking, in Surrey. The gen. Wocc-es occurs in Wocces-geat, i.e. 'Wocc's gate'; Birch, C.S. ii. 242, l. 5. The suffix probably means 'home'; and the sense may be 'home of the Woccings, or sons of Wocc'. Woking is spelt Wocking, in Cl.R. vol. 2.

Wytham. To the NW. of Oxford. Also Wightham (Lysons). Spelt *Wightham*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). The A.S. form is Wihtham, in the boundaries of Hinksey, B. iii. 201, l. 1. Also spelt Wictham, in the Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 312; and Uuihteham in the same, i. 270 (A.D. 968). The last suggests an original form Wihtanham, where Wihtan is the genitive of Wihta, a pet name for one of the numerous names begin-

ning with Wiht, such as Wihtbeorht, Wihtbrord, &c. The probable sense is 'Wihta's home'; though the suffix is undetermined.

If we now reconsider the above cases, we see that *ham* occurs with the sense of 'enclosure' in Beenham, Crookham, Marcham, Shrivenham, and Wittenham. The sense of 'home' appears in Midgham and Waltham; perhaps also in Cookham, Thatcham, and Wokingham. In the remaining cases we have no indication as to the right sense.

Hay.

The suffix *-hay*, meaning 'hedge' or 'fence', is derived from A.S. *hege*, with the same meaning. (There was also a Norman form *haie*, *haye*, of Germanic origin, but this need not be here considered.) We must distinguish this *hay* from the A.S. *haga*, 'a haw' or hedge, and from the A.S. *hecg*, whence the modern 'hedge' really comes. The only derivative is Woodhay.

Woodhay. To the S. of Kintbury. Spelt *Woodhay*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). Also spelt *Widehay*, H.R.; *Wydehay*, F.A. (1316); T.N. From A.S. *wudu*, also *widu*, 'wood'; which accounts for the double form. The sense is 'wood-fence'.

Hill.

A well-known word. Hence Coleshill and Sunninghill.

Coleshill. On the river Cole. Spelt *Coleshull*, T.N.; F.A.; *Coleshulle*, R.B.; T.E. The Middle

English forms for *hill* are *hylle*, *hille*, *hulle*, Kentish *helle*. D.B. has *Coleselle in Wifol hundred*; p. 15. It is now in Faringdon hundred. Spelt *Coleshylle* once, and *Colleshylle* thrice, in Wynflæd's Will; see Thorpe, Diplomatarium, pp. 534, 535. The suffix *-es* shows that the place was not named from the stream; the contrary is possible. The personal names Col and Coll both occur. The sense is 'Col's hill' or 'Coll's hill'. N.B. There is another Coleshill in Warwickshire, near which another stream named Cole joins the river Tame.

Sunninghill. To the S. of Windsor. Spelt *Suninghull*, H.R.; *Sunningehulle*, R.T. The prefix is the same as in Sunningwell, which see below. The sense is 'hill of the Sunnings, or sons of Sunna'. See Sonning, p. 69.

Hithe.

Hithe means 'a port' or 'haven'; Kemble explains it as 'a place that receives a ship on its landing, a low shore, fit to be a landing-place for boats'; or shortly, a landing-place. The only example is Maidenhead.

Maidenhead. Spelt *Maydenhythe*, F.A. (1428); 'pro ponte de *Maydenheth*', P.R. (1297–8). Here *heth* is for *hethe*, a Kentish form of *hithe*, due to a Kentish scribe; the A.S. form is *hȳth*. The prefix is simply *maiden*, A.S. *mægden*; and the sense is 'Maiden hithe'. Comically explained in Kelly as 'midway wharf'! There is nothing extraordinary about it. Cf. *mægdenne-brigce*, lit. 'maiden bridge', in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. no. 680; vol. iii.

259. One curious characteristic of our old antiquaries is the persistence with which they refuse to regard Maiden as being an English word. In cases like Maiden Bower and Maiden Castle they call it 'Celtic'; and they would sooner call it Egyptian than admit it to be quite a common English word. The modern use of *-head* for *-hythe* is absurd; but 'maidenhead' was once so common, in place of 'maidenhood', that it was easily accepted. I take the sense of Maidenhithe to be 'a landing-place for maidens', i. e. a place where landing from a boat was very easily accomplished. According to the E.D.D., a Roman road is sometimes called 'a maiden way', as being easy to traverse in the days of ill-made roads. We have a 'Maids' Causeway' in Cambridge; it merely means 'well-paved walk' or 'parade'.

Holt.

Holt, also spelt *holt* in Anglo-Saxon, means a wood or copse; see N.E.D. It only occurs in Sparsholt.

Sparsholt. To the W. of Wantage. Formerly *Spersholt*, P.R.; Ipm.; *Spersholt*, R.B. D.B. has *Spersolt*, p. 3; *Spersold*, p. 7. Birch has æt Speresholte (dat.), C.S. iii. 358 (A.D. 963); Kemble has æt Spæresholte, Cod. Dipl. iv. 170 (charter no. 820). The sense is 'Spær's copse' or 'Sper's copse'.

Hurst.

Hurst, meaning a wooded eminence, a copse, a wood, is common in Kent; see N.E.D. The

A.S. form is *hyrst*. It occurs in Hurst, and in Baynhurst, Sandhurst, and Tilehurst.

Hurst. To the E. of Reading. We find *la Hurst*, F.A. (1316); *de la Hurst*, T.E. A.S. *hyrst*, as above.

Baynhurst. Now the name of a hundred that contains Hurley and Cookham. The prefix is the same as in Bayworth (for Baynworth, the *n* being lost). The sense is 'Bæga's copse', or 'Bēga's copse'. In D.B., p. 8, we find *in Beners hundred*; where *Beners* appears to be merely a Normanised form of Baynhurst; and it appears in a still more corrupt form in the entries of '*Cocheham* [Cookham] in *Benes hundred*', p. 2; and '*Hurlei* in *Benes hundred*', p. 13; which show that *Benes* is really Baynhurst. We find Benestr' Hundred in H.R.; apparently an error for Benerst.

Sandhurst. Spelt *Sandhurst*, F.A. (1316). Sandhyrst occurs in the dat. form Sandhyrste in Birch, C.S. i. 366, with reference to Sandhurst in Kent. The sense is obvious.

Tilehurst. To the W. of Reading. Spelt *Tylehurst*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); but earlier *Tigelhurste*, T.N.; *Tygelhurst*, T.E.; *Tyghelhurst*, F.A. (1316). The A.S. Tigelhyrst appears in the dat. Tigelhyrste, in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 157. The A.S. *tigel* (borrowed from Lat. *tegula*) means 'tile'. The sense is 'tile copse', whatever be the reason. Tiles may have been made there.

-ING.

The suffix *-ing* is very different from the rest, having a purely *personal* reference. Thus 'son of Adam' is expressed in A.S. by *Adaming*. The nom. sing. ends in *-ing*, and the gen. sing. in *-inges*. The nom. pl. ends in *-ingas*, and the gen. pl. in *-inga*. All four endings are common. The pl. also has the sense of 'dwellers in', when it follows a place-name. Thus Catmer-ingas means 'dwellers in Catmere'. Place-names containing the A.S. *-ing* are Balking, Ginge, Lockinge, Reading, Sonning, Wantage, and Wasing.

Balking, or Baulking. In the Vale of the White Horse. A contracted form. Spelt *Balking*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). Earlier *Badeleking* Cl.R.; *Bathelking* (1286); Index. The A.S. forms are Bedelacinge, Birch, C.S. iii. 25; Bathalacing, id. iii. 358; Bada-lacing, id. 359 (various reading Bathalacing). Of these, the oldest form is Badalacing or Bathalacing (A.D. 963), which must have lost a suffix, owing to its being already quadrisyllabic. The full form would be Badalac-inga, gen. pl.; of which the sense is uncertain; but it probably means 'belonging to (lit. of) the sons of Badalac'. And Badalac is probably a Mercian form of Beadulāc, a name composed of the very common prefix Beadu (lit. 'battle'), and the known suffix -lāc (lit. 'play') as in Gūth-lāc. If this be right, Balking denotes a place where the family of Beadulāc settled. The form Bathalacing may easily have arisen from drawing an unnecessary

stroke through the *d*; it first appears with a Đ in the form BAĐALACING, in capital letters; C.S. iii. 358. But it is Badalacing at p. 359.

Ginge. East Ginge and West Ginge are in the parish of Hendred, to the S. of West Hendred. There is also a stream so named, sometimes spelt Geenge; but it was originally a place-name. We find *Genge manerium*; Ipm. p. 151; *Gaeng'*, *Gaing'*, *Geing'*, T.N.; *Est Genge*, F.A.; *Estgeyng* (1225); Index (where *Est* = East). Also spelt *Gainz*, in the Pipe Rolls (1155–6). D.B. has *Gainz*, p. 8; where *z* has the sound of *ts* or *dz*, and only approximately represents the English sound of a palatalised *g* (like modern E. *j*). Also *Gainz*, *Geinz*, R.B. The oldest recorded form is Gæging (better Gæginge), Birch, C.S. iii. 257; whence the later forms Gainge, id. iii. 173, Gaineg, iii. 67, and Geinge, i. 506. The second *g* in Gæginge was a mere glide, like *y* in *paying*, and so was easily lost. The original form must have been Gæginga, gen. pl., from Gægingas, nom. pl.; referring to the 'sons (or family) of Gæga'. The name Gæga is not in Searle, but can be inferred from the equivalent modern E. Gay in such names as Gaydon, Gayton, and Gaywood. Moreover, in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 137, we find Gegan-lēge; and in the same, vi. 148, we find Gage-lēage; both variants of Gægan-lēage, and implying Gægan, gen. of Gæga.

Lockinge. To the E. of Wantage. The *ge* is sounded as *j*. There is an East Lockinge and a West Lockinge (Kelly). It is certain that the *o*

is a late substitution for *a*. Spelt *Lokinge*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). But earlier it is *Laking*, H.R.; T.E.; though it is *Lokinge*, *Lokinges* in T.N.; *Westlokyng* (1459), Index. D.B. has *Lachinges in Wanetinz hundred* (with *ch* for *k*), p. 8. Spelt Lakinge (various reading Lacinge), Birch, C.S. ii. 139. We should particularly notice the description of the boundaries of Drayton in Birch, C.S. iii. 234 and 279, where Laking and Waneting (i. e. Wantage) are mentioned in similar terms. We find: 'thonon on Lacing; andlang Lacing on Cealcford; thonon on mær-dic; . . . thonon on Wanetinge; andlang Waneting on Oeccene'; i.e. thence to Laking; along Laking to Chalkford; thence to the boundary-ditch; . . . thence to Wantage; along Wantage to the river Ock. This suggests that Lacing (like Waneting) is a tribal name. Moreover, the *ā* was long, and passed regularly into *ō*, after which it was shortened before the strong stop *k*. Hence Lacing was probably named from 'the Lācings' or 'sons of Lāc'. Lāc is not found elsewhere alone as a proper name, but it is a very common word, and occurs in Gūthlāc. See Balking; p. 66. Note particularly the D.B. form Lachinges, and the form Lokinges in T.N. The final *-es* answers to A.S. *-as*; whence we infer the form Lācingas, nom. pl.; a correct form. The modern Lockinge may have well been due to the gen. pl. Lācinga, later Lākinge; after which the *g* was palatalised, becoming *j*, whilst *ā* became *ō*. The shortening of a stressed vowel in the first syllable is not uncommon. Indeed, an example occurs in the next name that follows.

Reading. The *ea*, once long, is now short. Spelt *Radinges*, R.B.; F.A.; *Redinges*, R.C.; *Radinge*, T.E. It was also (and still remains) the name of a hundred. *Hundred de Radinge*, F.A. (1316); H.R. D.B. has *Redinges in Redinges hundred*, p. 5; also *Radinges hundred*, p. 9. The A.S. form appears as Rēadingum in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 871, where it is in the dative plural; also as Rædingan, a late form of the dat. pl., an. 1006. We also find Rēadingan, dat. pl., in Birch, C.S. iii. 600 (last line). It thus appears that the old name was Rēadingas, nom. pl., which the D.B. form fairly well preserves. The sense is 'the sons (or family, or tribe) of Rēad or Rēada', i. e. 'the Red'. The adj. *rēad*, red, was very common, and is still a common surname in the forms Read, Reid, Reade, &c. Strangely enough, it is not in Searle's list; whilst, on the other hand, the unallied abstract sb. *rēd*, lit. 'advice', is common both as a prefix and suffix, as in Rædwulf, Ælfrēd.

Sonning. On the Thames, below Reading. Formerly spelt *Sunninges*, Pipe Rolls; Cl.R.; T.N.; *Suninges*, H.R.; *Sunninge*, T.N. It is also the name of a hundred; hence we find *Suninge hundred*, H.R.; *hundred de Sonnynge*, F.A. (1316). Also *Sonnynges* (with *o*), T.E. The Normans wrote *on* for the A.S. *un*, as in A.S. *sunu*, modern E. *son*. Hence D.B. has *Soninges*, p. 5. In a late copy of an early charter we find the A.S. form given as Sunninges, Birch, C.S. i. 56, l. 5. For Sunningas, i. e. 'the sons (or family) of Sunna', rather than 'of Sunne', i. e. the sun. We must remember

that *sunne*, 'sun,' was feminine. In either case, we may say that Sonning took its name from 'the Sunnings'. We may compare Sundon, Beds., from the A.S. Sunnan-dūn; where *sunnan* can either be the gen. of a masc. *sunna*, or of the fem. *sunne*. It is just possible that both Sonning and Sundon referred originally to sun-worship. Our present Sunday represents an A.S. Sunnan-dæg. Cf. also Sunninghill (p. 63) and Sunningwell (p. 105).

Wantage. The form must be somewhat modern, as the name is still *Wanting* in V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). Earlier we find *Wanatinge*, *Wanetinge*, R.B.; *Waneting*, R.C.; T.N. It was also (and still is) the name of a hundred; hence we find *Waneting' hundr'*, H.R. D.B. has *Wanetinz in Wanetinz hundred*, p. 3; where *z* represents *ts* or *dz*, though the English sound intended was rather that of our *j* (written *ge*). The A.S. forms are Waneting, in Birch, C.S. ii. 178; iii. 279; Wanetinge, iii. 234; Wæneting, iii. 508. The forms Wanetinge, R.B., Wanetinz, D.B., and the A.S. Wanetinge, point to an original form Wanetinga, gen. pl. The sense is 'home of the Wanetings'. The Wanetings (A.S. Wanetingas) are a family that cannot be traced further back. The chief's name may have been Wanet or Waneta; but we have nothing to help us here.

Wasing. Between the Emborne and the county boundary. Spelt *Wausynge*, F.A. (1316); *Wawesenge*, T.N. We usually find that *au* represents an older *al*; indeed, D.B. has the form *Walsinge*, p. 15. The D.B. suffix *-inge* answers to A.S. *-inga*; and

the D.B. form *Walsinge* obviously represents the A.S. gen. pl. Wælsinga, which occurs in Wælsingaham (home of the Wælsings), the modern Walsingham. Hence Wasing was a settlement 'of the Wælsings', or 'sons of Wæls'. The name is very old; for Wæls is mentioned in l. 897 of the old poem of Bēowulf; and his son Sigemund is called Wælsing (son of Wæls) in the same, l. 877. The A.S. Wælsing is equivalent to the Icelandic Völsungr.

Land.

There is but one Berks. name with this suffix, viz. Buckland.

Buckland. To the NE. of Faringdon. The same as Buckland in Herts. Spelt *Bocland*, H.R.; Ipm. D.B. has *Bocheland* (with *ch* for *k*), p. 6. The A.S. form is Bōc-land; Birch, C.S. iii. 205. Lit. 'book-land'; a name given to land granted by a *bōc* or written charter to a private owner. See *Bookland* in N.E.D.

Ley.

The sense is somewhat vague; see N.E.D. We may usually take it to represent the A.S. *lēah*, nom., or its dat. case *lēage*, 'a tract of cultivated land'; modern E. *lea*. It occurs in Bagley, Bessilsleigh, Chieveley, Early, Egley, Fawley, Hurley, Ilsley, Oakley Green, Purley, Radley, Streatley, Whistley.

Bagley Wood. Not far to the S. of Oxford. Spelt *Bagele*, H.R. The A.S. form is Bacgan lēah;

Birch, C.S. iii. 96 (last line). The sense is 'Bacga's lea'. Bacga is a known personal name.

Bessilsleigh, or Besils Legh (Lysons). Near Appleton. Not a very old name. It simply means 'Besils' leigh (or lea)'. It is called *Legh* in V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); and D.B. has *Leie*, p. 6. It is said that the Besils family came into possession of this manor in 1350; and held it till the death of William Besils in 1516. Mathias de Besyles had land in Buckland, Berks., as early as 1295–6; Ipm., p. 127. This name is Norman.

Chieveley. To the N. of Newbury. Formerly spelt *Chivele*, Ipm.; F.A. (1316); T.N.; T.E.; *Chiveley*, H.R. Latinised as *Chiveleia*; R.B. Later *Cheveley*, V.E. The A.S. form is Cifan-lēa, Birch, C.S. iii. 51, 274. (It has no connexion with either Cofen-lēa or Cufan-lēa, as suggested by Kemble; and is also quite distinct from Cheveley, Cambs.) The sense is 'Cifa's lea'. Cifa is a personal name not otherwise known. The *i* was originally short, but has been lengthened, as in E. *cleave* from A.S. *clifian*. It is possible that Cifa may be the same name as Ceofa, a name given by Searle; see Sievers, A.S. Grammar, § 107.

Early. Near Reading. Spelt *Erle*, Ipm.; F.A. (1316); *Erlee*, F.A. (1316); *Erley*, T.N.; *Arle*, F.A. (1428); *Erlegh*, Cl.R.; Ipm. R.B. has the forms *Erleye*, *Erlega*. D.B. has *Erlei*; p. 5. The form Arle shows that Early may well be the same name as Arley; and there are several places so called. Of these one at least, viz. Upper Arley in Stafford-

shire, is known to have been formerly named Arnley, A.S. Earnlēah; see Duignan's Staffs. Place-names. A variant of Arnley is Earnley; and Earnley (Sussex) is written Earneleagh in Birch, C.S. i. 331. Here Earne- is for Earnan, gen. of Earna; cf. Earna-lēa in Kemble, C.D. vi. 168; so that the sense is 'Earna's lea'; Earna being a pet-name for names beginning with Earn-, such as Earnbeald, Earnbeorht, &c. All founded on A.S. earn, which means 'an eagle'. This solution is, of course, conjectural. N.B. Earna lēah, as it stands, might mean 'field of eagles'.

Egley. This is the name of an old hundred which was united with that of Kintbury; and the combined hundred is frequently called by the rather ludicrous name of Kintbury-Eagle, by confusing an English name with the Anglo-French *egle*, whence modern E. *eagle*. We find *hundred de Kenetbury et Eggle*, F.A. (1316); *Eggele hundred*, H.R.; *Ĕgle*, H.R. The A.S. form of the prefix is probably Ecgan, as found in Ecgan-croft; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. no. 621; badly spelt Egcean in Egceanlæa (i.e. Egley) in the same, no. 714 (vol. iii. p. 344). The sense is 'Ecga's lea'. Some have confused it with Iglea, mentioned in the A.S. Chronicle, though the prefixes are quite different, as pointed out by Mr. W. H. Stevenson in his edition of Asser's Life of Alfred, p. 272. Mr. Stevenson further shows that Egley hundred appears as *Egesleah* in the Pipe Rolls, 17 Henry II, p. 90, and as *Eggesleah*, in the same, 18 Henry II, p. 15; which require for their origin the A.S. form

*Ecges-lēah, meaning the 'lea of Ecg'. But the correctness of these forms seems to me to be doubtful, as we should expect Ecges-lēah to give a form Edgeley rather than Egley, whereas the *g* remains hard, in the form Eagle, even now. However, the name meant either 'lea of Ecga' or 'lea of Ecg'. It is only a question as to the weak form in *-a* or the strong form without it.

Fawley. Not far from Lambourn. Spelt *Falelea*, R.T.; *Faleley*, R.C.; *Fallele*, F.A. (1316); *Falelee*, Ab.; *Faleleg'*, Cl.R.; *Falleygh*, Ipm.; *Falelegh*, T.N. [It somewhat resembles the A.S. Falod-lēah, the name of an uncertain place mentioned in a Hants. charter; Birch, i. 515. Faleð-lēa is a mistaken spelling of this, with a needlessly crossed *d*, in the same, iii. 415. This prefix is the A.S. *falod*, the old form of the word now spelt *fold*, in the sense of 'sheep-fold'.] But Falod-leah, being near the river Meon, cannot be Fawley in Hants. I prefer to think that our prefix *Fale-* answers rather to the E. Friesic *falge*, sb., 'fallow land'; and that the sense of Fawley is simply 'fallow-lea'.

Hurley. On the Thames, below Henley. Spelt *Hurle*, P.R.; Ipm.; F.A. (1316); *Hurley*, V.E. D.B. has *Herlei in Beners* [Baynhurst] *hundred*, p. 13. These forms give no sense. According to the Index to the Charters in the British Museum, there is a Hurley in Warwickshire which appears in a charter as *Hurnlega*. If in this case likewise we may look upon Hur- as short for Hurn-, we may explain the name from the A.S. *hyrne* (*hyrn-* in

composition), 'a corner, a nook'; so that the sense may be 'lea in a nook'. Cf. Guyhirn, Cambs. But more evidence is desired. We find Hurran-cumb in the Crawford Charters, p. 58, where Hurran is the genitive of Hurra. But the D.B. form Herlei favours the A.S. *hyrne*.

Ilsley. There is a West Ilsley and an East or Market Ilsley. The name has lost both initial *H* and a *d*. Spelt *Ildesley*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). *Hildesley, Hildesleye*, Ipm.; *Est Hildesley*, H.R. D.B. has *Hildeslei*, p. 5. It also gives *Hilleslave* or *Hilleslav* as the name of a hundred, answering to an A.S. form Hildes hlǣw, i.e. 'Hild's low' or burial mound; which is actually mentioned in the boundaries of Compton Beauchamp; in Birch, C.S. iii. 70. The A.S. form of the place-name would be Hildes lēah; cf. Hildes-lēge, dat., in Birch, C.S. iii. 660. Hildes-forda, dat., occurs in the same line. The name *Hild* is both masculine and feminine; see Searle. The sb. *hild*, 'battle,' is feminine only; so that *Hild* is here used merely as a masculine personal name, without any reference to *Hild*, the goddess of battle, as Mr. J. Stevenson wrongly suggests in his edition of the Chronicle of Abingdon. When *hild* is feminine, the genitive is *hilde*.

Oakley Green. Near Bray (Kelly). Lit. 'oak lea'. The A.S. form is *āc-lēah*.

Purley. On the Thames, above Reading. Spelt *Purley, Purlegh*, Ipm.; *Purle*, R.B; T.N.; P.R. D.B. has *Porlei*, p. 14. The prefix is the same as

in Pur-ton (Wilts.); spelt *Pyryton*, Index, answering to the A.S. *pirig-tūn*, spelt *Piritūn* in a late charter, in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 166. From A.S. *pirige*, a pear-tree; from *peru*, a pear, which is adapted from Lat. *pirum*, a pear. The sense is 'pear-tree lea'. There is another Purley in Surrey.

Radley. To the NE. of Abingdon. Spelt *Radeley*, T.N.; *Raydeley*, V.E. The A.S. form is spelt Radelēage, in the dative; Birch, C.S. iii. 85; with reference to a place in Wiltshire. It is difficult to interpret the prefix. It seems to be the same as in Radenweg, Birch, C.S. ii. 205, l. 6, and to represent Rādan, gen. of Rāda, variant of Rǣda, a pet-name for the numerous names beginning with Rǣd-. We find *rād* for *rǣd*, 'advice,' in Thorpe, Ancient Laws, vol. i. p. 38, l. 21. If this be right, the sense is 'Rāda's lea'. It would seem that the prefix Rad- sometimes answers to A.S. *rēad*, 'red'; but it can hardly do so here.

Streatley. On the Thames. There are several Streatleys, and the sense is invariable, viz. 'street lea'. The A.S. form is Strǣt-lēah, also written Strētlēa, as in Birch, C.S. i. 108, with reference to this Streatley in Berks. The name *Street* commonly refers to a Roman road.

Whistley. In Hurst; to the E. of Reading. The name is ill preserved; it should rather be Wishley. Spelt *Wisselay*, P.R.; probably *Wishelegh*, Ipm., also refers to Whistley. Latinised as

Wisseleia, Wischeleia in the Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 196, 306. The A.S. form is Wiscelēa, in a Hurst charter; Birch, C.S. iii. 511, l. 1. Cf. Wisc-lēa, id. ii. 298, l. 7. The prefix Wisce is the exact equivalent of the E. Fries. *wiske*, a small meadow, diminutive of the word which appears in German as *wiese*, a meadow, Old High German *wisa*. Related by gradation to A.S. *wāse*, ooze, mud, which is now spelt *ooze*; so that *wisce* was more especially used with reference to moist or low-lying ground. The sense is 'meadow-lea' Cf. Wishford in Wilts.

Low.

Low is from the A.S. *hlāw, hlæw*, a mound, especially a barrow or burial-mound; and is common as a suffix. Two examples occur, viz. Challow and Cuckhamslow.

Challow. West and East Challow lie to the W. of Wantage. Spelt *Westchallow*, V.E. Earlier, *Estchaulo*, F.A. (1316); *Chaulawe*, T.N.; *Chawelaw*, R.C.; *Westchaulawe*, T.E. The A.S. form appears in the dat. Ceawan-hlæwe in the boundaries of Denchworth, Birch, C.S. ii. 601. The sense is obviously 'Ceawa's burial-mound'.

Cuckhamslow. The name of a hill near Wantage; also known as Scutchamfly barrow; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 486, col. 2, l. 12. Called *Quichelmeslewe* by Robert of Gloucester. There is no difficulty; the A.S. form appears as Cwicelmeshlæwe, in the dative case; in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 292; no. 693. Cwicelmes is an error for Cwic-

helmes; and the sense is 'Cwichelm's burial-mound'. It is alluded to in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 1006. One Cwichelm was king of the West Saxons, and died A.D. 636. But as he was baptized shortly before his death, Mr. Stevenson remarks (Asser's Life of Alfred, p. 236) that 'it is unlikely that he was buried in heathen fashion under a barrow. It is more probably the pagan king Cwichelm of Wessex, whose death is entered in the Chronicle under the year 593, who is meant.'

Marsh.

A common word. The only example of it as a suffix is in Tidmarsh.

Tidmarsh. On the Pang, above Pangbourn. Spelt *Tydemershe*, F.A. (1428); *Tudemershe*, Ipm.; *Tedmarsh*, V.E.; *Thedmarsh*, Ab.; *Thedmersshe*, F.A. (1316). Here *Th* is a Norman substitution for the English *T*. The vowels *i, u, e, y*, can only result from an A.S. short *y*, and the middle *e* in *Tud-e-mershe* suggests the A.S. genitive suffix *-an*. Hence the prefix is Tyddan, gen. of Tydda; and the sense is 'Tydda's marsh'.

Mere (1).

Mere, from the A.S. *mere* (rarely *mære*), a mere, lake, pool, is familiar to all who know the English Lakes. It occurs in Catmore (formerly Catmere), Peasemore (formerly Peasemere), and Ripplesmere.

Catmore. Near Farnborough. Spelt *Catmer*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); and Catmere in Ly-

sons, Hist. of Berks. Also *Catmere* in D.B., p. 9; *Catmere*, T.N. The sense is simply 'cat mere'. (The wild guess, in Taylor, that it represents a Welsh *coed mawr*, 'great wood,' is valueless.) Catmore means 'cat moor'; and, when the mere dried up or was drained away, it was natural to substitute 'moor'. The A.S. form is also Catmere, as in Birch, C.S. ii. 371, l. 14; and only three lines below there is a reference to the Catmæringa gemǣre, i.e. 'boundary of the Catmerings or dwellers in Catmere'. We also find Catmeres gemǣre, in the same, iii. 52; which avoids confusion between *mere* and *gemǣre*. The same charters mention a place called Catbeorh, 'cat-barrow,' in the same neighbourhood.

Peasemore. Between Leckhampstead and Beedon. Formerly Peasemere. Spelt *Pesemere*, T.E.; Cl.R.; T.N.; R.C. *Peysmer*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); *Pesemere*, Ipm., p. 167. In the Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 31, there is mention of *Ecclesia de Pesimara* (or *Pesimaro*). D.B. has *Peise in Gamenesfelle* [Ganfield] *hundred*, p. 8; but this must refer to Pusey. We also find a Peasemarsh in Sussex, and a Peasenhall in Suffolk, which appear in Ipm. as *Pesemersh* and *Pesenhale* (or *Pesehale*). It does not seem possible to see for this prefix any other origin than the A.S. *pisa*, a pea, pl. *pisan*, Middle English *pese*, pl. *pesen*, later *pease*, now absurdly cut down to *pea*. The sense must refer to a piece of land where peas were cultivated, just as we find in the Index to Kemble's Charters such forms as Bean-brōc,

Bean-lēah, Bean-setan, Bean-stede, all apparently from the A.S. *bēan*, a bean. The sense would be 'mere near a field for peas'. The form Pesimaro is due to an attempt at representing a syllabic final *-e* in a Latin spelling, and is of no value.

Ripplesmere. This is the name of a hundred which contains Windsor. It appears as a hundred-name from the first. We find *hundred de Ripplesmere*, F.A. (1316); and D.B. has *Riplesmere* or *Riplesmer hundred* twice, pp. 7, 12. The nom. case of Ripples appears as Rippell in Birch, C.S. i. 84, and as Ryppel in the same, iii. 486; with reference to Ripple in Worcestershire. There is another Ripple in Kent, near Deal. The standard form is Rippel, and it must have been a personal name. The sense is 'Rippel's mere'.

Mere (2).

There is a less common *mere*, meaning 'a boundary'. Lord Bacon has *meere-stone*, a boundary-stone, in his Essay 56 (Of Judicature). It only occurs in Horme'. The A.S. form is *gemǣre*, or (rarely) *mǣre*.

Hormer. This is the name of the most northern hundred, containing Hinksey and Cumnor. Spelt *Hornemere hundred*, Ipm.; H.R. D.B. has *Hornimere hundred*, p. 6. In the Chronicle of Abingdon it is further extended to *Hornigmere*, ii. 278; but the full form is Horninga mǣre, as in Birch, C.S. iii. 520. This name occurs as one of the boundaries of some land at Witney, Oxon.,

which extended over thirty hides; and the list of boundaries is closed by a reference to Hinksey, which is in Hormer hundred. The sense is 'boundary of the Hornings or sons of Horn'. *Horninga* is the gen. of the pl. form *Horningas*. Horn is a famous name, as there is a Romance of King Horn.

The Suffix -or or -ore.

The A.S. *ōra*, a margin, bank, shore, is cognate with the Latin *ōra*, which happens to be identical with it in form. Nevertheless, it is a native Teutonic word, and occurs as a suffix in place-names; viz. in Bagnor, Cumnor, and Windsor. It also appears alone, in the place-name Oare; which I shall consider first.

Oare. Near Chieveley, and considered as in it (Kelly). Spelt *Ore*, T.N.; F.A. (1316). The A.S. form is Ōra, dat. Ōran; in Birch, C.S. iii. 509. It simply means 'bank, edge, margin'.

Bagnor. Near the Lambourn, above Donnington. Spelt *Bagenore*, T.N.; F.A. (1316). D.B. has *Bagenore*; p. 15. From an A.S. type Bacgan-ōra, i.e. 'Bacga's bank or edge'. The gen. case Bacgan occurs in Bacgan-lēah (i.e. Bagley) in Birch, C.S. iii. 96. The nom. Bacga occurs in the Liber Vitae of Durham. See Bagley Wood, p. 71.

Cumnor. Not far from Oxford. Spelt *Comenore*, P.R.; H.R.; *Cumenore*, R.C.; *Comenor'*, T.N. D.B. has *Comenore*, p. 6. The A.S. type appears as Cumenōran in Birch, C.S. i. 505, last line; but the copy is late. On p. 368, Charter 680 gives an

earlier spelling Cumanōra; with *a* for *e*. And again, Cumenōran occurs in the same, iii. 67. But we find a still fuller form in the same, ii. Appendix, p. vii; and in iii. 68; viz. Colmanōra (Colmonōra). As this occurs twice, it must be taken to be significant. The variant Colmon (for Colman) is only admissible if we take Colman to be a complete name, and exclude the supposition that *-an* is the termination of a genitive singular. But this leaves no sign of the genitive at all. We must therefore assume that the full form must have been *Colmannesōra; and that the *-es* has dropped out owing to the rather cumbrous form of the word; a phenomenon of which there is really quite a large number of examples. And when we notice that Colman is a name that occurs *at least five times*, whilst Colma is not known, it will be seen that the most probable sense is 'Colman's bank, or edge'. Taylor is mistaken in taking *Cumenōra* to be the oldest form.

Windsor. Formerly spelt *Windesore*, H.R.; *Windesores*, RB. D.B. also has *Windesores*; p. 2. Fuller forms are *Windelsore*, Robert of Gloucester; Ipm.; *Windlesor'*, T.N.; *Wyndlesora*, T.E.; *Wyndeleshore*, R.B.; *Windlesores*, Pipe Rolls. In the A.S. Chronicle it is *Windlesōran*, in the dative; an. 1096. An earlier form of the prefix is *Wendles*; as in *Wendles-ōre*, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 165. And a still earlier one is *Wændles*, which occurs in another compound, viz. Wændles-dūn, in Birch, C.S. iii. 518, l. 3. Wændles or Wendles is the gen. case of Wændel or Wendel. Hence

the sense is 'Wændel's bank' or 'Wændel's shore'. It is highly probable that Wændel is the same word as Vandal, which is merely a Latin spelling of a Teutonic word; though Wændel, in the present case, is merely a man's name. When we use the word 'vandalism' reproachfully, we should remember that it obtained its sinister sense from the Romans, who were enemies of the Goths and Vandals and of the Teutonic races generally, and regarded them as 'barbarians'. The English were on the other side; and there may be Vandals amongst us still. There is a Wandlebury, i.e. 'Vandal fort', within three miles of Cambridge. The original sense of Wændel (Vandal) seems to have been simply 'wanderer'; from the same source as the A.S. *wandrian*, to wander. Cf. also Wendles-dūn, Wændles-dūn; Birch, C.S. iii. 517, 518; Wendles-clif, id. i. 341; Wændles-cumb, Kemble, C.D. vi. 120.

-PEN.

Pen is not common as a suffix. When it occurs, it represents the A.S. *penn*, a pen for cattle or a sheepfold. There is but one example in Berks., viz. Inkpen.

Inkpen. To the S. of Kintbury. This curious name looks as if it had an obvious reference to writing materials; but the resemblance is accidental. The *k* was once a *g*; and the *pen* referred to is a cattle-pen. Formerly spelt *Inkepenne*, T.E.; F.A. (1316); V.E.; *Ynkepenne*, Ipm., p. 105. Earlier *Ingpenne*, Ipm., p. 49; *Ingepenne*, T.N.

D.B. has *Hingepene*, p. 11; with a meaningless *H* prefixed. In an A.S. charter we find Ingepenne in the dative case; Birch, C.S. ii. 367. Here *penne* is the dat. of *penn*, a pen for cattle; and Inge is for Ingan, gen. of Inga, a known personal name. The sense is 'Inga's pen'.

-RIDGE.

Ridge is still in common use, though it seldom has the exact old sense of 'back'. The A.S. form is *hrycg*, dat. *hrycge*; common also in Northumbrian in the form *rigg*. One example of a Berks. name that contains this suffix is disguised by an absurd spelling, probably thought to be phonetic; viz. Courage. A second example is of obvious etymology, viz. Hawkridge.

COURAGE. Situate in Chieveley. It is a daring respelling, after the Norman manner, of an English name which might better be denoted by Curridge. Spelt *Currygge*, F.A. (1428); *Cuserugge*, T.N.; *Cuserigge*, Pipe Rolls; *Cusrigge*, Ipm.; *Coserugge*, Ipm.; F.A. (1316). D.B. has *Coserige*; p. 14. It is obvious that the *rr* is due to *sr*; and arose from assimilation. It is Latinised as *Cuserugia* in 1147; Index. It appears in an A.S. (Chieveley) charter as Cusan-ricge and Cusan-hricge, in the dative case; Birch, C.S. iii. 60. Cūsan is the gen. of the personal name Cūsa. The sense is 'Cūsa's ridge'.

HAWKRIDGE. In Bucklebury (Kelly). Although this is a very small place, it is mentioned in a Saxon charter, dated 956, in which its boundaries are

given, and it is stated to be near the river Pang. See Birch, C.S. iii. 87, where it is spelt Heafochryeg. From the A.S. *heafoc, hafoc,* a hawk, and *hryeg,* a ridge. The name, in fact, explains itself at once.

The Suffix -rith.

This is a most interesting word. The A.S. *rīth,* masc., and *rīthe,* fem., both denoted a rill or streamlet. In fact, our modern *rill* is merely a French formation from a diminutive form *rīthel,* 'little rill.' It is the same as the Low German *reide,* North Friesic *rīde, rīe,* with the characteristic Low German loss of *d* between two vowels. Hence, even in England, the river-name Rye; and the famous Rie-vaulx Abbey owes its name to an extraordinary combination of the A.S. *rīthe,* a stream, with the Norman *vaulx, vaux* (Latin *vallis*), a valley. Shottery, in Warwickshire, appears as Scotta-rīth in A.S. charters. The Berks. examples are Childrey and Hendred. In these examples the suffixes *-rey, -red,* are due to Anglo-French substitutions. In the latter, the A.S. *th* is exchanged for *d,* in the former it has become part of a diphthong, the consonant being suppressed. Perhaps it is well to add that the A.S. *rī-th* is from the same root as the Lat. *rī-uus,* a river. And further, that the modern form Rye is perfectly distinct from the Essex *ree,* a stream, which is sometimes absurdly written *Rhee.* (This *ree* arose from a misdivision of the A.S. formula *æt thǣre ēa,* 'at the stream,' whence the M.E. *at ther ee, at the ree.* For *ēa* (like Lat. *aqua*) is feminine.)

Childrey. To the W. of Wantage. The *d* is excrescent, and of late introduction. Spelt *Chelrey, Celry, Celrea,* T.N.; *Chelrethe, Chelereye,* Ipm. D.B. has *Celrea,* p. 13; where *C* (before *e*) has the sound of the modern E. *ch*. It appears in an A.S. charter as Cilla rīthe; Birch, C.S. ii. 489. A still older spelling is Cillan rīthe, id. 601; in the dative case, from the masc. nom. *rīth*. Cillan is the gen. of the *feminine* name Cille; and the sense is 'Cille's rill'. In this case, it is probable that we know who Cille was, viz. the sister of Hēan, first abbot of Abingdon. See the Chronicle of Abingdon, i. 13.

Hendred. There is a West Hendred and an East Hendred; to the E. of Wantage. The *d* is excrescent, and of late introduction. Spelt *Henreth,* H.R.; *Esthenreth, Westhenreth,* T.E.; *Henreth* (with ð for *th*), Pipe Rolls. D.B. has *Henret,* p. 4; with the Norman *t* for E. *th*. In A.S. charters it appears as Henna-rīth; Birch, C.S. iii. 165, 326, 391. *Henna* is the gen. pl. of A.S. *hen, hæn,* a hen. The sense is 'hens' rill', or 'rill of water-hens'. Cf. Henbrook, Worc.; also Emborne, 'duck stream,' as at p. 15.

The Suffix -shet or -sheet.

Only in Bagshot. Bagshot is in Surrey; but as Bagshot Heath is in Berks., I include it.

Bagshot. Both syllables have suffered alteration. A better form would have been Backsheet or Bakshet. Spelt *Baggeshott,* Ipm., p. 334; also *Bagshat,* Ipm.; *Bagshott,* P.R.; but *Bagshet,* Ab., R.C.; *Bakeshet, Bakset,* T.N.; *Baggeshete,* Ipm.,

vol. 2. In the Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 7, 132, there is mention of a wood near Winkfield called Bac-sceat (temp. Will. I; 1066–1087). The sense is 'back-nook'; from A.S. *bæc*, the back, and *scēat*, an angle, nook, corner. Cf. Wop-shete (Kemble).

-STEAD, -HAMSTEAD.

Stead is from the A.S. *stede*, 'a stead, place, station, site.' It only occurs, in Berks., in composition with *ham-*, giving *hamstead* or *hampstead* (with an excrescent or unoriginal *p*). The A.S. *hāmstede* means 'a homestead' or 'farm'; from *hām*, a home. The *ā* is shortened before *mst*. Examples are Ashampstead, Easthampstead, Finchamstead, Hampstead Marshall, Hampstead Norris, Leckhampstead, Sulhampstead.

Ashampstead. To the W. of Pangbourn. Spelt *Ashamsted*, P.R.; R.C. (1307); *Ashehampstede*, R.C. (1316). The sense is 'ash-homestead'; or homestead near the ash-tree.

Easthampstead. To the S. of Bracknell. The sense is 'homestead lying to the east'. Easthampstead Plain lies to the east of Finchamstead.

Finchamstead. Spelt *Finchamstede*, H.R.; *Fynchamsted*, F.A. (1316). D.B. has *Finchamestede*; p. 3. The prefix is the A.S. *finc* (dat. *fince*), a finch. The sense is 'homestead or farm frequented by finches'. Cf. Finchfield, Worc.

Hampstead Marshall. To the E. of Kintbury. Spelt *Hampsted Marshall*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII);

Hampsted, R.C.; *Hamstede*, H.R. D.B. has *Hamestede in Cheneteberie* [Kintbury] *hundred*; p. 15. In an A.S. charter relating to this place it is spelt *hamstede*; Birch, C.S. iii. 302. The sense is 'homestead' or 'farm'; and the name Marshall is explained from the fact that it once belonged to the Lord Marshal of England. We find *Hampsted Marshal* in the possession of Roger le Bygod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, and his wife Alicia, in 1307; see Ipm., p. 216.

Hampstead Norris. Spelt *Hampsted Norres*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). So called because held by the family of Norreys. Norreys is a Norman name, and signifies a Norman or Northman.

Leckhampstead, or Leckhamstead. Spelt *Lechampstede*, R.B.; *Leckhampsted*, F.A. (1316); *Lechamstede*, H.R.; *Lekehamstede* (1459), Index. D.B. has *Lecanestede*; p. 6; *Lachenestede*; p. 8. An A.S. charter in Birch, C.S. ii. 534, gives the boundaries of Leachamstede. The prefix is the A.S. *lēac*, a leek; but the same name was applicable to any garden-herb. The sense is 'homestead or farm with a kitchen garden'. N.B. There is another Leckhampstead in Bucks.

Sulhampstead. Sulhampstead Bannister and Sulhampstead Abbots lie to the S. of Theale. Bannister (formerly Banistre) is a Norman name of French origin. Spelt *Sulhampsted Banaster* and *Sulhampsted Abbatis*, V.E.; *Silhamsted*, T.E.; F.A. (1428); *Sylhamsted*, T.N.; *Silhampstede*, Ab.; *Syllampstede*, F.A. (1402). The A.S. form does

not appear; but the vowels *u, i, y* require A.S. *y*. Hence the prefix probably represents the A.S. *sylu*, a miry place; and the sense is 'a homestead in a miry place'.

-THORN.

The A.S. *thorn* is often used with the sense of thorn-bush; cf. *hawthorn*. It is frequently mentioned in boundaries of places.

Crowthorn. To the N. of Sandhurst. In Ipm., p. 294, there is a mention of *Crowethorne*, as being in Somersets. There was also once a Crowthorn in Hants, called Crāwan-thorn in a Hants charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 103, l. 4 (Bromdæne in l. 6 I take to be Bramdean, and Hēantūn to be Hinton Ampner). From *crāwan*, combining form of *crāwe*, a crow. Lit. 'crow-thorn'. Cf. *crāwanlēac* = *crāwlēac*, crow-garlic.

-TOWN, -TON.

The suffix *-ton* is for A.S. *tun*, the unstressed form of *tūn*, 'town.' It practically meant 'a homestead', or a farmhouse with all its outbuildings, &c. It occurs frequently, viz. in Aldermaston, Appleton, Ardington, Aston, Avington, Bourton, Brightwalton, Brimpton, Charlton, Chilton, Clapton, Compton, Donnington, Drayton, Easton, Eaton, Garston, Hinton, Kennington, Kingstone, Milton, Steventon, Sutton, Uffington, Ufton, Upton, Weston, Woolhampton, Woolstone, Wootton. The double suffix -hampton occurs in Bockhampton.

Aldermaston. Near the middle of the southern boundary of the county. An *n* has been lost

before the *s*, much disguising the name. *Aldermaston*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). But earlier it is *Aldermanston*, F.A. (1316); *Aldremanneston*, T.N.; *Aldremanston*, Ipm. D.B. has *Heloremanestune* (absurdly), p. 5; but on the same page it has *Eldremanestune*. The prefix is obvious, as it represents the A.S. *ealdormannes*, gen. case of *ealdormann*, 'an alderman,' originally a name given to a nobleman of the highest rank, or the chief officer of a shire. Thus the literal sense is 'alderman's town'.

Appleton. On the Thames; above Oxford. Formerly *Appelton*, Ipm.; *Apeltone*, R.B. D.B. has *Apletune*, p. 12; *Apletone*, p. 16. An A.S. charter has Æppeltūn, in Birch, C.S. ii. 513. The sense is 'apple town'; or 'farm with an apple-orchard'. We are told in the same charter that this place had formerly gone by a totally different name, viz. Ærmundes-lēa, i.e. 'Ærmund's lea'. The name Ærmund is an abbreviation of some earlier form, probably of Earnmund or of Eardmund.

Ardington. Near Wantage. Formerly spelt *Ardington*, Ipm.; *Ardinton*, H.R.; T.N.; *Ardynton*, F.A. (1316); *Erdinton*, Cl.R. Latinised as *Ardintona*, *Erdintona*; Index. D.B. has *Ardintone*, p. 13. It is the same name as that of Erdington, near Birmingham. I have explained (Place-names of Cambs., p. 61) that Armingford (formerly Arningford, Erningford) answers to the A.S. Earningaford; and in precisely the same way Ardin(g)ton and Erdington answer to the A.S. form Eardinga-

tun ; i.e. 'town of the Eardings, or sons of Earda'. Here Earda is a pet-name for names beginning with Eard-, such as Eardbeorht, Eardwulf, &c. In his edition of Asser, Mr. Stevenson has a note at p. 236, in which he suggests that (judging from its situation) the 'Eardulfes lēah' mentioned in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 129, may be another name for Ardington. If so, we may certainly consider Earda to signify Eardwulf. Indeed, Eardwulf is much the commonest of the names beginning with Eard- ; more than twenty examples of it have been recorded.

Aston, or Aston Tirrold. To the E. of Blewberry. Lysons also gives the form Aston Thorold. Aston is a very common name, as it simply means 'east town'. This appears from the fact that old spellings often appear as Eston. Spelt *Estone*, T.E. ; *Aston Torald*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). D.B. has *Estone in Blilberie* [Blewberry] *hundred* ; p. 9. The A.S. form appears as Eastun (for *ēast tūn*) in a charter relating to this very place ; see Birch, C.S. i. 390 ; iii. 393. Aston in Herts. and Aston in Bucks. can both be proved to have the like origin. Tirrold and Tyrrell are both forms of the Norman Turold, which corresponds to the M.E. Thorold, later form of the Norse Thoraldr, cognate with A.S. Thurwold, Thurweald ; see Bardsley and Searle.

Avington. On the Kennet ; near Kintbury. There is another Avington in Hants. Spelt *Aventon*, F.A. (1316) ; *Avynton, Avienton*, H.R. ; *Aventon, Avinton*, T.N. ; but *Avyngton*, V.E. (temp.

Henry VIII). The name appears in an A.S. charter as Afintune (dative); see Birch, C.S. iii. 292. The nom. is Afintun. But I cannot explain it. As a guess, I should suppose it to be short for Afingatun, i.e. 'town of the Afings', or 'of the sons of Afa'. Afa is a known name, of which Searle gives two examples. But the frequent absence of *g* in all the earlier examples suggests that Avin or Aven may have resulted from the simple form Afan, gen. of Afa. In this case, the sense would be 'Afa's town'. It obviously makes but little difference. The weakening of *an* to *en*, and again of *en* to *in*, are both rather common.

Bourton. In Shrivenham. In Birch, C.S. i. 506, we find 'Scriuenham. Burgton', thus mentioned together in a Grant to Abingdon Abbey. This shows at once that Bourton corresponds to the A.S. *burg-tūn* or *burh-tūn*, lit. 'borough town'.

Brightwalton. To the E. of Lambourn. Also called Brightwaltham; which is certainly corrupt. Spelt *Brightwalton*, T.E.; *Brychtwalton*, Ipm.; *Brictewalton*, T.N.; all shortened and unmeaning forms. Spelt *Bristwoldintona* (1086); Index. D.B. has *Bristoldestone*; p. 8. Norman scribes often write *st* for *ght*, A.S. *ht*. There is no doubt as to the form, because it appears in an A.S. charter, dated 939, as Beorhtwaldingtune, dative, in Birch, C.S. ii. 462. It is obviously short for Beorhtwealdinga-tūn, i.e. 'town of the Beorhtwealdings or sons of Beorhtweald'. Beorhtweald is a very common name, of which there are more than forty examples.

Brimpton. Near the Emborne, and to the W. of Aldermaston. Certainly the same name as Brington, Hunts., as the old forms show. Spelt *Brympton*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); *Brinton*, Ipm.; *Brimton, Brimpton*, T.N.; H.R.; *Bernynton*, F.A.; *Bernintun*, Pipe Rolls. D.B. has *Brintone in Taceham* [Thatcham] *hundred*; p. 13. The A.S. form Bryningtune (dative) appears in 944; Birch, C.S. ii. 559. Short for Bryningatūn, i.e. 'town (or enclosure) of the Brynings'. Bryning is a patronymic from the personal name Bryni; so that the Brynings were 'sons of Bryni'. Hence also Briningham (Norfolk).

Charlton. There is a Charlton to the NE. of Wantage. A more important use of Charlton is as the name of a hundred (containing Shinfield), in quite another part of the county. There are, in fact, many Charltons. We find *Cherledon hundred*, H.R. D.B. has *Cerletone*, p. 3; with *Ce* for E. *Che*. Cf. *Cherletone*, R.B. Charlton, in Wantage, is actually mentioned in an A.S. charter, where it is spelt Ceorlatūn; Birch, C.S. iii. 98. *Ceorla* is the gen. pl. of *ceorl*, a churl, a husbandman. The literal sense is 'churls' town'.

Chilton. To the W. of Blewberry. Spelt *Chilton*, Ipm.; T.N. D.B. has *Cilletone*; p. 7. The A.S. form is Cilda-tūn, in a charter dated 1015; see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 169. The A.S. *cilda* is a form of the gen. pl. of *cild*, a child. The sense is 'children's town' or farm. The allusion may be to a farm carried on by young men whose parents had died. Cf. Chilford, Cambs., which

means 'children's ford'; where the allusion is, no doubt, to the shallowness of the ford.

Clapton. To the N. of the Kennet, near Avington and Hungerford. Also called *Clopton*, described as being near Avington; F.A. (1316); R.C. (D.B. has *Clopcote in Eletesford hundred*; p. 12. This refers to Clopcot, which, according to Kelly, belongs to Wallingford.) The prefix Clap- or Clop- is common; the A.S. form, in both cases, is usually *clop*. I have discussed this *clop* in my Place-names of Beds., s.v. Clapham. The sense is not quite certain, but it seems to be the same word as the Middle Danish *klop*, a stub, or stump; probably allied to *clump*. If so, it means 'a town or enclosure of stubby ground'.

Compton Beauchamp. Not far from Dragon Hill. (There is another Compton, near E. Ilsley, which gave its name to Compton hundred.) Called *Compton Beauchamp*, Ipm., p. 276, A.D. 1315–16; where it is described as held by Guido de Bello Campo, Earl of Warwick, and Alicia his wife; Guido de Bello Campo being a Latin rendering of Guy Beauchamp. Spelt *Compton*, T.E.; *Cumpton*, Ipm., p. 105; *Compton, Cumpton*, H.R.; *Compton Beaucheme*, V.E. D.B. has *Contone*; p. 4. The dative Cumtune occurs in an A.S. charter dated 955; see Birch, C.S. iii. 69. The nom. is Cumtūn. The prefix is from A.S. *cumb*, a hollow valley, a combe; a word of Celtic origin, as seen by comparison with the Welsh *cwm*, a combe, a hollow in a hill-side. The sense is 'town or farm in a combe'. Cf. Compton, Staffs.

Donnington. Near Shaw; cf. Shaw-cum-Donnington (Kelly). Spelt *Donington*, R.C.; *Dunyngton*, F.A. (1316); *Duninton*, Cl.R., vol. i. We find the A.S. expression 'on Dunninglande' in a Will; see Birch, C.S. iii. 601, last line. The correct original form was, accordingly, Dunningatūn; i.e. 'town of the Dunnings or sons of Dunn'.

Drayton. To the S. of Abingdon. Spelt *Drayton*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); *Draitone*, R.B. D.B. has *Draitune*; p. 9. The A.S. form Drægtun occurs in a charter dated 960; see Birch, C.S. iii. 279. From the A.S. *dræg*, discussed in my Place-names of Cambs., where there is also a Drayton. It is certainly derived from *dragan*, to draw, also, to build a nest (N.E.D.). This explains the prov. E. *dray*, 'a squirrel's nest', and shows that the A.S. *dræg* meant a place of shelter. It may have meant 'a sheltered farm'. See Draycot, p. 27.

Easton. In Welford. Lit. 'east town'. Cf. Aston above. Alluded to in an A.S. charter of 796; see Birch, C.S. i. 390. It is there spelt Eastun.

Eaton Hastings. On the Thames, not far from Faringdon. Spelt *Eatone*, T.E.; *Eton*, H.R.; *Eton Hastinges*, Ipm., p. 146; P.R. The same name as Eton. Spelt Eatun in an A.S. charter relating to Abingdon; see Birch, C.S. i. 490. From the A.S. *ēa*, a stream, a river; with reference (apparently) to the Thames, as in the case of Eton, Bucks. The sense is 'river town', or 'town on the river'. The Hastings family was English, named from Hastings in Sussex.

Garston, or East Garston. On the Lambourn. Called *Estgarston*, H.R. The A.S. form is Gærstun; as in Birch, C.S. iii. 96, line 14. In the same, iii. 68, we find Gerstun and Grestun. The prefix *gærs* is a variant of *græs*, modern E. *grass*. The sense is 'grass town', or 'farm with abundance of grass'.

Hinton Waldrist, or Waldridge. Near Longworth and the Thames. The old name seems to have been Henton. In Ipm., p. 162, Henton and Harewell (Harwell) are said to be in Berks. D.B. has *Hentone in Gamesfel* [Ganfield] *hundred* (p. 16), a correct reference to Hinton. Probably *not* the same name as Hinton, or Cherry Hinton, Cambs. It is further remarkable that Ipm. (Inquisitiones post Mortem) has many references for Henton, in nine different counties, including Dorsets., Wilts., and Hants, which all have Hintons. I think that the careful examination of the Worth charter, printed in Birch, C.S. iii. 228, as no. 1028, will prove that Hinton Waldrist is referred to in it. Mr. Birch says it relates to land at Worth in Faringdon. What that means I do not know; but it is certain that Worth is the old name of Longworth, and it is to Longworth that the charter really refers. For it not only mentions, in the boundaries, the Thames and the Ock, but the *cing-hāma gemāre* or 'boundary of the people of king's home', i.e. of Kingstone, the *cearninga gemāre*, or 'boundary of the people of Charney', and lastly the *hēantunninga gemāre*, or 'boundary of the people of Hēantun'. And this Hēantun is,

of course, Henton, or Hinton Waldrist; just as Hēandun became Hendon. Thus the A.S. form was Hēan-tun; where *hēan* is the usual dative of *hēah*, high. The sense is 'high town'. As to Waldridge, it is not a Norman but an English form; from the A.S. Wealdrīc (like Aldridge from Ealdrīc). This name actually occurs in the Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 127 (A.D. 1100–35), where we find: 'ego Waldricus regis cancellarius.' Waldrist seems to have been formed from the gen. Wealdrīces, or Waldric's. Cf. Woolstone, p. 101.

Kennington. On the Thames, below Oxford. Spelt *Kenington*, Ipm.; P.R.; *Kenintone*, R.B.: *Keninton*, T.N. The name appears in A.S. charters as Cenintune (dative) in Birch, C.S. iii. 162; Cenigtun, id. iii. 160. Also, in a late copy, as Chenitun, id. i. 505; Chenigtun, 506, in the foot-note; here the spelling *Che* is due to a Norman scribe, who wrote *Che* for A.S. *Ce* (as often). The A.S. spellings are therefore Cenintun and Cenigton, which are not reconcilable unless we suppose them to represent the form Ceningtun. I think, therefore, that the original form was Cēninga tun, in accordance with the present name. The A.S. *cēne* means 'bold, valiant, keen'; whence Keen as a surname. It is further noticeable that, although the A.S. *ce* becomes *che* when the *e* is short, the A.S. *cē* becomes *kee* when it is long. The sense is 'town of the Keenings or sons of Keen'. In later times the *ee* was shortened. The same is true of Kensworth (Herts.), which means 'Keen's worth or farm'. See my Place-names of Herts.

KINGSTONE BAGPUIZE. To the W. of Marcham. Spelt *Kingeston*, H.R. D.B. has *Chingestune in Merceham* [Marcham] *hundred*, p. 10; with *Chi* for *Ki* (as usual). The boundaries of this place are given in an A.S. charter; see Birch, C.S. iii. 546. It is there spelt Kingestun and Cingestun. Here *cinges* is the gen. of *cing*, *cyning*, a king. The sense is 'king's town'.

The name Bagpuize is of Norman origin, due to the holder of the land. It is called *Kingston Bakepus*, F.A. (1316); *Kingston Bagepuys*, F.A. (1428); and *Kyngston Bagpuz*, V.E. In the Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 30, 31, Adelelmus and Radulphus de Bachepuiz are mentioned in connexion with the church at this Kingston; temp. William II. In the same, ii. 121, the Norman name is spelt Bakepuz. It is of local origin, from a place in France. The Norman *bake* answers to the Old French *bache*, explained by Godefroy as meaning a gulley or watercourse; and *puz*, *puiz* are old forms of F. *puits*, Lat. *puteus*, a well. The place-name had reference to 'a well with a watercourse'.

KINGSTON LISLE. Between Shrivenham and Wantage. Noted as *Kingeston Lisle*, R.C. (15 Edward I). A note in Kelly says that it was named from William de Insula (or De L'isle) in the time of Henry II. The Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 145, mentions Robertus de Insula as being lord of the vill of Bradendene (1100–1135).

MILTON. To the S. of Abingdon. As in the case of Milton, Cambs., and in many other cases, Milton

is a shortened form of Middleton. Spelt *Milton*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). But *Middelton*, H.R.; T.E. D.B. has *Middeltune in Sudtune* [Sutton] *hundred*; p. 7. It is close to Sutton Courtney. The sense is 'middle town'; perhaps because it is between Steventon and the southern end of Sutton Courtney.

Steventon. Near Milton (above). Spelt *Stiventon*, H.R.; T.E.; *Stivinton*, R.T.; *Styvinton*, R.C.; *Styvington*, F.A. (1316). Later *Stevynton*, V.E.; so that the former *e* was once *i*. D.B. has *Stivetune*; p. 4. The same name as Steventon or Stevington, Beds. *Stiven-* (as in H.R.) probably represents an A.S. form *Styfan*, gen. of *Styfa*, in which the *f* was pronounced as *v*. This name is not recorded, but occurs in the diminutive form *Styfec*. From its genitive *Styfeces* was formed the name of Stetchworth, Cambs.; and perhaps Stechford in Worcestershire. The sense is 'Styfa's farm'. The change from Stiventon to Steventon was doubtless owing to the influence of the Norman name Stephen. Perhaps Styfa is also implied in the patronymic which appears in Stifinge-hæma; Birch, C.S. iii. 392.

Sutton Courtney. To the S. of Abingdon. Spelt *Suttone*, R.B.; *Sutton hundred*, H.R.; *Suthtun*, Pipe Rolls. D.B. has *Sudtone*, p. 4; *Sudtune*, p. 7. Spelt Suðtun in a charter giving the boundaries of Appleford, Berks.; Birch, C.S. ii. 224. The sense is 'south town'. There are more than forty Suttons. Note that Sutton was once also the name of a hundred. Courtney is a Norman name, of French origin. Named, according to

Bardsley, from Courtenay in the Isle of France, which was the name of an old French province that also contained Paris.

Uffington. To the E. of Shrivenham. Spelt *Uffinton*, H.R.; T.N.; *Offingtone*, *Offentone*, T.E. D.B. has *Offentone*, p. 7; where the Norman initial *o* had much the same sound as the A.S. *u*, and was quite distinct from A.S. *o*. Spelt Uffentune, in the dative case, in Birch, C.S. ii. 376, where its boundaries are given. The writing of *ng* for *n* is comparatively late, and is of no significance. The original A.S. form would be Uffantūn, where Uffan is the gen. case of Uffa, a known name, and perfectly distinct from Offa, though they are often ignorantly confused. *U* and *o* differ; a *cut* is not a *cot*.

Ufton Nervet. To the S. of Theale. Spelt *Uftone*, F.A. (1316). Even without other forms to guide us, it is obvious that the A.S. form must have been Uffantun, i. e. 'Uffa's town', precisely as in the case of Uffington above. We might suppose, from the forms, that Ufton is the older place, and that its name has suffered greater change by contraction. Nervet must be an old Norman surname. The form *nervet* is the exact Norman equivalent of the Old French *nervé*, which Godefroy explains as 'full of nerve, strong'; so that it was originally a complimentary epithet.

Upton. Near Blewberry. Spelt *Upton*, H.R.; T.N.; *Optone*, T.E. D.B. has *Optone in Blitberie* [Blewberry] *hundred*; p. 15. The same name as

Upton, Hunts. From the A.S. *ūp*, up; used in composition with the sense of 'upper'. The sense is 'upper town'. Not far off there is an Aston Upthorpe (i. e. upper village) near Aston Tirrold.

Weston. In Welford (Kelly). The sense is 'west town'. There are about thirty Westons.

Woolhampton. Between Thatcham and Theale (nearly). I discuss the suffix *-hampton* at p. 102. In this case the old form did not really possess that suffix, as will appear. Spelt *Wullaminton*, H.R.; *Wolamptone*, F.A. (1428); *Wllaumton*, R.T. But earlier, it is *Wulavinton*, T.N.; *Wullavinton*, R.C. D.B. has *Ollavintone*, p. 10; with *O* for *Wu*. It thus appears that the successive forms were Wullavinton, Wullaminton, Wollamton, Wolhampton, &c. The form Wullavinton fairly agrees with the modern names Woolavington, Somersets., and Woollavington, Sussex. All have the same origin; and as the A.S. *f* between two vowels denotes *v*, we find the same prefix as in the A.S. Wullafingland, which occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 243. Further, Wullāf is a late form of Wulflāf, due to assimilation. Hence the A.S. form of Woolhampton must originally have been Wulflāfinga-tūn, i. e. 'town (or farm) of the Wulflāfings or sons of Wulflāf'. Wulflāf (later Wullāf) is a known name.

Woolstone. Not far from Shrivenham. An old name and much contracted; entirely unconnected with *wool* and *stone*. (There are other places with a similar name, but they may not be from the same original.) Spelt *Wlricheston*, *Wulvricheston*, H.R.

Wlfrithestone (error for *Wlfrichestone*, by the very frequent substitution of *t* for *c*), T.E.; *Wulfrichestun*, *Wulvricheston*, T.N.; *Wolricheston*, Ab. In F.A. (1316) we find that *Wolfricheston* is in Shrivenham hundred. D.B. has *Olvricestone*; p. 5. The A.S. original is unmistakable. It must have been Wulfrīces tūn, i. e. 'Wulfric's town or farm'. Note that, in D.B., p. 14, the name recurs, but is there miswritten *Vlritone* (omitting *ces*), and is moreover incorrectly said to be in Thatcham hundred, by confusion with Woolhampton. Wild and silly fables have been founded upon this misreading, which is a reason for recommending caution.

Wootton. Between Appleton and Kennington. Spelt *Wotton*, T.E. Alluded to in a charter; see Birch, C.S. i. 506, line 2, where it appears as Uudetun, a late spelling of Wudetūn, or rather of Wuduton. Literally, 'wood town'; or 'farm near a wood'. There are a dozen Woottons or Wootons.

-hamp-ton.

The suffix *-hampton* (with excrescent *p*) is a compound suffix, composed (in this instance) of the A.S. *hām*, 'home,' and *tūn*, 'town.' The sense is much the same as that of 'homestead'. The only example is Bockhampton.

Bockhampton. A tithing, one mile to the E. of Lambourn (Kelly). Spelt *Bokhampton*, Ipm.; *Bochamton*, T.N.; *Bockhampton*, P.R.; *Bochampton*, Ab. The sense of the prefix is doubtful. The Middle English *o* sometimes represents A.S. *ō*;

perhaps the form *bock* represents the A.S. *bōc*, a beech-tree ; see *bōc-haga, bōc-holt* in the Supplement to the A.S. Dict. If this is right, the sense is 'beech homestead'. Compare Buckland above, and Bookham (Surrey), A.S. Bōcham. (Doubtful.)

The Suffix -ware.

Clewer. Near Windsor. Spelt *Cliware, Cleware,* Ipm., vol. 2 ; *Cleware,* Ab. ; *Clyware,* F.A. (1316) ; *Cliwar,* T.N. ; *Cluer,* V.E. But *Clyfwere* (temp. Edw. I) ; Index. D.B. has *Clivore in Riplesmere hundred* ; p. 14. The prefix is evidently the A.S. *clif,* lit. 'a cliff', also an acclivity or slope. In Birch, C.S. ii. 476, we find the expression *on clifwere,* but the charter (which relates to Wilts.) is full of late spellings and is not helpful. A better form is given in a Kentish charter, in Birch, i. 318, where we find 'on eastan clifwara gemære' and 'on suthan clifwara gemære'. Here *wara* is the gen. pl. of the pl. sb. *ware,* 'people' ; as in Cantware, men of Kent, people of Kent. Similarly, the A.S. *clif-ware* would mean 'cliff-men', applied to a small tribe or company who had settled at Clewer. It is obviously impossible to say how they came to possess this epithet.

Well.

Well is used in the usual sense of 'spring of water'. It occurs in Brightwell, Coxwell, Harwell, Sotwell, and Sunningwell.

Brightwell. Near Wallingford. Spelt *Brithwell* (with *th* for *ht*) ; H.R. ; *Brictewell,* T.N. D.B.

has *Bristowelle*, p. 5; with *st* for A.S. *ht*. There is also a Brightwell in Oxfordshire, alluded to in an A.S. charter in the phrase 'æt Berhtanwellan'; Birch, C.S. ii. 166. Again, in the same, ii. 596, we read: 'incolae prolatum nomen latialiter *declaratam fontem* indiderunt, nunc vero . . . Beorhtanwille.' This proves at once that the sense is simply 'bright well'. It is remarkable that Kemble, in his Codex Diplomaticus, vol. iii, p. xiii, sees in this name an allusion to 'Berhte or Beorhte, the goddess of wells'. It would seem, however, that our ancestors were quite unconscious of any such allusion, because the A.S. *beorhtan* is expressly explained to mean *declaratam*. I think it means 'clear, translucent', as defined in the N.E.D.

Coxwell. Great and Little Coxwell are near Faringdon. Spelt *Cokeswell*, T.N.; Index; *Cokeswelle*, T.E. D.B. has *Cocheswelle*, p. 4; where *che*= *ke*. These represent an A.S. form *Cocces-wielle*, lit 'Cock's well'. Cocc, 'cock,' is here used as a personal name; or we should expect 'cock-well'.

Harwell. Near Didcot. Spelt *Harewell*, H.R. D.B. has *Harwelle*, p. 5; and *Harowelle*, p. 14. The A.S. form is given as Haranwylle in Birch, C.S. iii. 446. As *haran* is the gen. case of *hara*, a hare, the sense is 'Hare's well'. The use of the genitive suggests that Hara is here used as a personal name. Otherwise, the spelling would have been Harawylle.

Sotwell. Near Wallingford. Spelt *Sottewell*, H.R.; *Sottewell, Sotewell*, T.N. D.B. has *Sotwelle*;

p. 8. The A.S. form must have been Sotan wielle, i.e. 'Sota's well'. Sota is known as a personal name. The *o* is short, and Sota is merely the weak form of the A.S. adj. *sot, sott,* 'foolish'; whence the modern E. *sot*. The compound *sot-ceorl,* 'foolish churl,' is not in the Dictionary; but it occurs in Birch, C.S. ii. 242, line 13.

Sunningwell. To the N. of Abingdon. Spelt *Sunningwell,* Ipm.; *Sonnyngewelle,* T.E.; *Sunningewell,* T.N. D.B. has *Soningeuuel*; p. 6. The right A.S. form occurs as Sunningauuille (in a late copy); Birch, i. 506; and Sunninga-wylle, id. iii. 108 (footnote 2). Elsewhere it is misspelt, without the third *n*. The sense is 'well of the Sunnings'. Cf. Sunninghill, and Sonning, pp. 63, 69.

-worth.

The suffix *worth* or *wyrthe* was applied to an enclosed homestead or farm; see Bosworth and Toller's A.S. Dict., p. 1267. It is allied to the A.S. *weorth,* 'worth, value'; and may be taken in the sense of 'property' or 'holding'. Examples occur in Aldworth, Bayworth, Chaddleworth, Denchworth, Longworth, Padworth, Seacourt, and Sugworth.

Aldworth. Between Compton and the Thames. Spelt *Aldeworth,* F.A. (1316); T.N.; T.E.; R.C.; *Audeworth,* Cl.R. I find no mention of it in A.S. charters, but it answers to the expression *tō ealdan wyrthe* in Birch, C.S. ii. 358. The sense is simply 'old worth', i.e. 'old farm'.

Bayworth. In Sunningwell (Kelly). D.B. has *Baiorde*; p. 6. (In D.B. *worth* is usually expressed by *orde*.) In the Abingdon Chronicle we find *Baigeuurtha*, i. 36; and *Bæieuurtha*, p. 37. Also *Bægenweorthe* in the same, p. 218. The boundaries of Bayworth are given in a charter dated 956. It is spelt Bægen-weorthe (dative) in Birch, C.S. iii. 107; better Bægan-wyrthe, id. iii. 96. Here Bægan is the gen. of the personal name Bæga or Bǣga. The sense is 'Bæga's worth or farm'. The same A.S. prefix occurs in Baynhurst; see p. 65.

Chaddleworth. Near Brightwaltham. Spelt *Chadelworth*, R.C.; *Chadelew'rth*, T.E.; *Chadeles-worth*, H.R.; *Chadlesworth*, Ipm. D.B. has *Cedene-ord in Eglei hundred*, p. 8; with *n* for *l*. In an A.S. charter, dated 960, it appears as Ceadelan-wyrth; in Birch, C.S. iii. 274. This seems to decide that the forms with the genitive in *-es* are unoriginal; and that the sense is 'Ceadela's worth or farm'. The name Ceadela seems to be distinct from Ceadwalla.

Denchworth. To the NNE. of Wantage. Spelt *Denchewurth*, *Dencheswurth*, T.N.; *Denechesworth*, F.A; *Denchesw'rth*, T.E.; *Denkesworde*, R.B.; *Dencheworth*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). D.B. has *Denchesworde*; p. 10. It appears in A.S. charters as Dences-wyrthe, Birch, C.S. i. 490; Denichesuurde (a late spelling), also Deniceswurth (printed Deinceswurth), id. 506 (and footnote); Deneceswurthe (dative), ii. 601; iii. 237. The sense is 'Denec's worth', or 'Denic's worth'. This personal name is not known elsewhere.

LONGWORTH. Eight miles from Abingdon, and ten from Oxford. The old name was simply Worth. The prefix *Long-* appears in the 14th century; I find *Langworthe*, F.A.; *Langworth* in 1458; Index. Also *Longworth*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII). Spelt *Wrth*, T.E. It appears in A.S. charters as Weorthe, Birch, C.S. iii. 67; and Wyrthe, p. 258. It merely means 'long worth or farm'.

PADWORTH. To the SSW. of Theale. Spelt *Paddewurth*, T.N.; *Padeworth*, V.E. D.B. has *Peteorde* (with *t* for *d*); p. 11. The A.S. form is Peadan-wurth; Birch, C.S. iii. 178. The sense is 'Peada's worth or farm'. Peada as a personal name is unknown elsewhere, except in another place-name written Peadan-beorge in the dative case; Birch, C.S. ii. 142, line 1. The modern Padbury has not precisely the same prefix; its A.S. form was Padde-byrig; Birch, C.S. ii. 377. Here Padde represents Paddan, gen. of Padda, a known name.

SEACOURT. Within two miles of Oxford. This is a most interesting example, on account of the impossibility of *guessing* its origin. It has nothing to do either with *sea* or *court*. At the same time, the historical etymology is quite clear. Spelt *Sevekewurth*, T.N.; *Sevkeworthe*, F.A. (1401–2); *Seovecwurde*, Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 311. D.B. has *Seuacoorde*; p. 6. It appears in an A.S. charter (about A.D. 957) as Seofecan-wyrthe (dative); Birch, C.S. iii. 201, line 1. The sense is 'Seofeca's worth or farm'.

Sugworth. There is a Sugworth Farm in Sunningwell, according to Bacon's map. It is interesting as being mentioned in Domesday Book, where it appears as *Sogorde*; p. 6. Ipm. mentions a place named *Suggeden* (Salop) in 1293–4, which corresponds to the modern surname Sugden (in the Clergy List). The A.S. place-name Sucgangraf occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 96; see note 32. It is therefore certain that the modern prefix *Sug-* answers to the Middle English *Sugge-*, and to the A.S. Sucgan, genitive of Sucga. The sense is 'Sucga's worth or farm'.

Having now accounted for all the compound names containing some well-known suffix, it remains to discuss the names in which no such suffix appears. It is remarkable how few they are. The list contains only Beedon, Bray, Shaw, Shippon, Speen, and Theale.

Beedon. To the S. of East Ilsley. To be divided as Beed-on, or rather Beed-en. The ending in *-on* is due to confusion with names ending in *-don*, which are numerous. Spelt *Bedene*, F.A. (1428); *Budene*, F.A. (1428); *Budon*, alias *Bedon*, V.E. (temp. Henry VIII); *Beden*, *Bede*, T.N. Also *Budeneye*, F.A. (1316), where it is mentioned as being near Oare, Peasemore, and Leckhampstead. D.B. has *Bedene*; p. 6. Spelt Bydene in an A.S. charter relating to Beedon; Birch, C.S. iii. 429; with an endorsement in which it is spelt Bedene; but both of these spellings seem to be late. The right form appears to be Bydan, as in

the compound Bydan-wyrth, id. iii. 45. We also find, in the boundaries of Chieveley, the expression Byden-hǣma gemǣres, i.e. 'of the boundary of the people of Bydan-hām'; p. 52. The late name Buden-eye (for A.S. Bydan-īeg), and the names Bydan-wyrth and Byden-hām (for Bydan-hām), all prove that Bydan is really an old genitive singular from a nominative Byda or Bȳda. The latter is the right form, and is a known name. Indeed, it occurs again in Biddenham, Beds., formerly Bidenham, Bēdenham, from A.S. Bȳdan hām, or 'Bȳda's home'. Hence Beedon really represents the A.S. gen. case Bȳdan, meaning 'Bȳda's', just as 'Smith's house' might be shortened to 'Smith's'. The missing suffix is supplied in the old form Budeneye (above); which was originally 'Bȳdan īeg' or 'Bȳda's isle'.

The A.S. *ȳ* was variously represented in Middle English by *ī, ȳ, ū, ē*; so that all the later spellings are accounted for. The modern *ee* is due to the Mercian form Bēdan, gen. of Bēda.

Bray. On the Thames, above Windsor. Also formerly (and now) the name of a hundred. Spelt *Braie*, Ipm.; *Bray*, Ipm., T.N.; *Bray, Broy*, R.B. Cf. Brayfield, Braybrook, Brayton. The name is therefore a native one, not Norman. We find also *hundred de Bray*, F.A. (1316). D.B. has *Brai*; p. 3. Ipm. has such names as Bray-burne, -broke, -legh, -lond, -thwayt, -toft, -ton; also Brai-ton, Brei-tofte. The fact that such names as Bray-bourn, Bray-brook, &c., exhibit *no* genitive suffix (such as would result from A.S. *-es, -an*) suggests

that Bray is *not* due to a proper name, but represents some natural object. I am somewhat doubtful as to the sense, but I would suggest that Bray is directly derived from the Mercian *brēg*, lit. an eyebrow; whence also prov. E. *bree*, the eyebrow; cf. A.S. *brǣw*. For this word doubtless had also the sense of 'hill-side'; precisely as in both the Northumbrian and Wessex dialects. The Northern form (from the Norse *brā*) is now spelt *brae*, and is a very familiar word in Scottish; see *brae* in the N.E.D. The Wessex *brū*, though it is not really cognate with the words above, likewise had the double sense of 'eyebrow' and 'hill-side'; see *Brow* in the N.E.D. and E.D.D. I suggest, accordingly, that the original sense was 'hill-side' or 'slope'. Cf. M.E. *brēu* in Stratmann. I very much doubt whether *any* of the words or forms mentioned above are related to the Welsh *brē*, Irish *brí*, a hill; nor do I assign to them a Celtic origin. See Urkeltischer Sprachschatz by Whitley Stokes, p. 171. Bray, in Wicklow, has an English name, which translates the older Celtic Bree (Joyce). The Mercian forms *brēg*, *brēgh* are given in Bosworth's Dict., s.v. *brēaw*. An old notion that Bray represents the Latin Bibracte (!) need not be seriously considered.

Shaw; or Shaw-cum-Donnington. On the N. bank of the Lambourne. Spelt *Shaghe*, F.A. (1316); *Schawe*, T.E. D.B. has the strange Norman spelling *Essages*; p. 14. Here *ss* is for *sh*; and the vowel *E* is prefixed. The A.S. form is *Scaga*, meaning 'thicket' or 'wood'.

Shippon. One mile from Abingdon. Spelt *Shupene*, F.A. (1316); *Scippene*, Chronicle of Abingdon, ii. 285; *Scipena*, id. ii. 19 (A.D. 1087–1100). The A.S. form is *scypen*, a cow-house, a cattle-shed; still common as prov. E. *shippen* or *shuppen*.

Speen, or Speenhamland. Near Newbury. Spelt *Spene cum Woodspene et Spenhamlonde*, F.A. (1316); *Spene*, H.R.; T.E.; *Spenes*, T.N., Cl.R.; *Spenhamland*, Ab. In a Grant by King Kenulf, A.D. 821, we find: 'cum illa silva integra quae dicitur Spene Pohanlech et Trinlech'; Birch, C.S. i. 506; where another MS. has Spene wohanlæh et trindlæh (footnote to the same). D.B. has *Spone* (not Spene); p. 15. The A.S. form is, accordingly, Spēne, an adjectival form (like *cēne*, *grēne*) derived from a sb. Spōn (whence the form *Spone* in D.B.). The A.S. *spōn* (modern E. *spoon*) meant originally a chip, a thin shaving, thin plank; another sense was, doubtless, a wooden shingle or wooden tile for roofing or protecting the front of a house. Cf. Icel. *spōn-thak*, a thatch of shingles, *spānn*, *spōnn*, a chip, shingle for thatching; Swed. *spån*, a chip, pl. *spånar*, or collectively *spån*, shingles, thin boards to cover houses (Widegren); E. Friesic *spōn*, a chip, shingle, *spōnen*, adj., made of shingles. I suppose that the place (and afterwards the wood spoken of in the A.S. charter) took its name from a shingled house or building, which was also called *Spēn-hām*, 'shingled home' (whence Speenham and Speenhamland). At any rate this solution is both possible and probable. Cf. Spondon,

Derb.; and A.S. Spon-wælle, Spon-ford; Birch, C.S. i. 496; iii. 288.

It is quite otherwise with the impossible theory, to be found in any book that treats of the old Roman roads, which identifies Speen with the old Roman station called *in Spinis*, or *Spinis*, mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus, sections xiii and xiv. Whether the situation of Speen best fits the descriptions or not, need not be here considered; for even if it can be granted that Speen occupied the *exact* position of *Spinis* or *Spinae*, there is no possible connexion between the *names*, as the principal vowel-sounds are quite irreconcilable. The Latin name, if borrowed, would have given A.S. *spīn*, 'thorn'; but no such word is known in A.S. It has been said, with singular simplicity, that the Lat. *spīna* was so pronounced that the *ī* had the sound of the modern Eng. *ee*; and therefore *spīna* was *Speen*! This egregious statement quite overlooks the fact that the Latin and Anglo-Saxon *ē* were pronounced alike, so that the A.S. Spēne was sounded something like the modern English *Spainer* (to coin a word). And, in fact, the Latin *splēn* has actually become E. *spleen*; but *spīna* has become *spine* (through the Old French *espine*). As to Speen, cf. prov. E. *spean*, a slip of wood, a bar of a gate; E.D.D. It should be noted that, topographically, it would be much better to locate the Latin *Spinae* at or near Newbury; and that the identification of it with Speen is by no means satisfactory or helpful. Camden, on this account, seems to suggest that Spinae was first of all at Newbury and afterwards

at Speen; but this assumes that a place has the power of locomotion! Such an assumption gives up the case.

THEALE. Near the Kennet, above Reading. It was once (and still remains) the name of a hundred. We find *hundred de la Thele*, H.R.; *la Thele*, F.A. (1316). But the word is native, not Norman; from the A.S. *thel*, 'a plank.' The A.S. short open *e* became, regularly, *ea* in Tudor English; as in *mete*, meat, *stelan*, to steal, &c. No doubt *thel* had the same sense as the compound *thelbrycg*, 'a plank bridge,' as in Birch, C.S. iii. 682. It meant 'a plank thrown over a stream'.

THE RIVERS OF BERKSHIRE.

There is not much to be said of the rivers of Berkshire. The Thames forms its Northern boundary, and has a very old name, the origin of which is wholly unknown. It certainly is not English. The A.S. spelling is Tæmese, or Temese; and there was another river of the same name which gave a name to Tempsford in Beds. The Normans wrote *Th* for the initial *T*, and we still preserve this absurdity.

The Kennet is certainly of Celtic origin; see under KINTBURY, p. 23. There is another Kennet in Cambs., a Kent in Westmorland, and a Kentford in Sussex. The sense is unknown.

The origin of the Loddon is unknown. There is a place called Loddon in Norfolk; but this may be a different name.

The names of the Emborne, the Lambourn, and

the Pang or Pangbourn, are all English; and have already been explained (pp. 15, 16, 17).

The Ock is from the A.S. Eoccen, which is frequently mentioned in the charters as the name of the river; a name of unknown origin. It easily came to be pronounced like a modern English form Yocken; after which it lost the initial *y*-sound and the suffix. The Normans disliked initial *y*, and often dropped it. A well-known example occurs in the A.S. Gippes-wīc, which is now Ipswich. In Birch, C.S. iii. 68, there is a late copy of a charter dated 955, which contains the spelling *eoccen*, altered fourteen lines below to *occen*, and even to *eccen*, which can hardly be right.

At p. 70 of the same, in the boundaries of Compton Beauchamp, there is an allusion to Welandes smiððan, or 'Weland's smithy'. This is the famous Wayland Smith's Cave, concerning which much has been written. The spelling with *ay* is modern, the correct form being Weland, as above.

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